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Report of the
Royal Commission on
**Bilingualism and
Biculturalism**

General
Introduction

Book I **The Official
Languages**

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Report of the Royal Commission
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
Volume I

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism



To His Excellency
The Governor General in Council

We, the Commissioners appointed
as a Royal Commission, beg to submit
to your Excellency
Volume I of our Final Report

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Ottawa, October 8, 1967.



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When its *Preliminary Report*¹ was published on February 1, 1965, the Commission had been in existence for a year and a half. Its activities during that period need not be recapitulated in detail, and only the main developments will be mentioned here.

After a preliminary public hearing in Ottawa on November 7 and 8, 1963, the Commission decided to hold regional meetings throughout the country. This procedure made it possible to meet thousands of Canadians, from Victoria, B.C., to St. John's, Newfoundland, during the period March-June 1964.

Moreover, as the Commission had been enjoined by its terms of reference to deal with certain problems concerning education, which is constitutionally under provincial jurisdiction, the Co-Chairmen had already visited the Premiers of the ten provinces in January and February 1964. This marked the beginning of the helpful co-operation between the provincial governments and the Commission, which we deeply appreciate.

The autumn of 1964 was devoted to the writing of the *Preliminary Report*, summarizing the Commission's experience in personal contact with the public and setting forth its provisional conclusions.

Immediately after the publication of its *Preliminary Report* early in 1965, the Commission began its regular public hearings. There were 14 sessions, each lasting from one to four days, in two series: March to June, and November to December, 1965.²

Four hundred and four briefs were submitted to the Commission, either by individuals who were expressing their personal point of view, or by various groups, many

¹ *A Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1965.

² See Appendix II.

of which had previously carried out studies and surveys among their members.¹ In most cases the briefs were carefully prepared documents and proved very helpful to the Commission.

In the regional meetings, the approach had necessarily been informal and exploratory. The official hearings by contrast afforded an opportunity for precise questioning and thorough discussion of the issues. Here the Commissioners could work from a close study of the briefs. Areas of agreement, and of tension and discord as well, could more easily be identified.

The Commission also held a number of private hearings and meetings with individuals or groups who did not wish to make public statements. Many of these were held in conjunction with the public hearings; some were arranged on the Commission's initiative, others were requested by the people themselves. In these meetings Commissioners were able to delve more deeply into the experiences and attitudes of people whose positions prevented them from making public statements. The information thus acquired supplemented that received in the hearings.

The main activities of 1965 were, therefore, the study of briefs and the holding of public and private hearings. The autumn of 1965 saw the beginning of another task, that of examining research findings which were beginning to reach the Commission.

From the outset we recognized the need to undertake a great deal of research, because practically none of the questions raised by the Commission's terms of reference had been systematically investigated before. The Public Service, education, and the mass media have certainly been studied as separate subjects, but seldom in the light of Canada's languages and cultures. There was scattered and piecemeal information available on these topics, but very often the most elementary facts were still unknown—for example, the number of English- and French-speaking people working for the federal government.

We were not looking for spectacular results; we were simply concerned with obtaining a reliable and substantial body of source material. We felt that for too long these matters had been subject to the vagaries of approximate statement and glib generalization. When questions are poorly defined or incompletely explored, the way is open for half-truths and prejudice. It was, therefore, all the more important to shed as much light as possible on the issues under public discussion. Better knowledge does not in itself create unanimity, for even experts often draw different conclusions from the same data. But it was necessary that a great deal of new information be obtained and analyzed, so that the discussion could be freed of the confusion which has all too frequently bedevilled it. Our conclusions would have to be based on a sound knowledge of the facts.

¹ See Appendix III.

We do not intend to describe the Commission's research programme here, or its results; the report of the Director of Research will be found in Appendix IV. Although ambitious, the programme is nonetheless incomplete: in three years we cannot make up for the neglect of several decades. But, on balance, the results are unquestionably valuable. We believe this will be apparent from the studies which will be published. Indeed, in our view, one of the Commission's main responsibilities is to make available the new information the inquiry has revealed. In certain sectors where we have been able only to initiate research we feel that an impetus has been given, and that in future other investigators will be able to deepen and widen the initial findings.

One question inevitably comes to mind: do the briefs and the research documents support the provisional conclusion which the Commission reached in its *Preliminary Report*? Do we still feel that "Canada, without being fully conscious of the fact, is passing through the greatest crisis in its history"?¹ The term "crisis" which we employed at that time shocked many Canadians. Some associated it with only the more superficial manifestations of social unrest. For others, who were unaware of the nature and extent of Quebec's dissatisfactions, it was an exaggeration. It was our conviction, however, that the problem was deep seated, and that in the gravest sense of the term Canada was facing a national crisis, "a time when decisions must be taken and developments must occur leading either to its break-up, or to a new set of conditions for its future existence."²

This is still the situation.

In the course of this Report we shall examine various aspects of the crisis and shall propose some remedies. We shall examine the theme of the *two societies* and of the *two majorities* in succeeding Books and from various points of view. Instead of taking an overall approach to the situation we shall, as far as possible, deal with the problems one by one.

So wide are the Commission's terms of reference that it could have legitimately investigated almost every aspect of Canadian society. Of course we had to set ourselves limits. Nevertheless, the number of topics to be treated remains large. For this reason our Report will comprise a certain number of Books that will be major divisions in the general analysis. A Book will sometimes constitute an entire volume and sometimes part of a volume. After a General Introduction discussing key words of our terms of reference we shall deal, from our assigned perspective, with the following:

- The official languages. (This Book, together with the General Introduction, constitutes the present volume of the Report.)
- The work world, both public and private sectors, and the socio-economic status of Canadians of different ethnic origins.

¹ *A Preliminary Report*, 13.

² *Ibid.*, 133.

1. The Commission has very often been asked to define the key words of its terms of reference.¹ At such times our answer was that these definitions “often imply the adoption of a point of view or lengthy research on related topics” which had yet to be undertaken.² Moreover, at a time when so many associations and individuals were preparing their briefs, we wished to avoid giving the appearance of imposing a definition; furthermore we had no wish to start lengthy discussions on meanings of words rather than on the realities behind them.

2. These risks have not entirely disappeared. Nevertheless, after a long period of listening we believe it is now necessary to indicate the meaning we shall give in particular to the words “bilingualism” and “biculturalism,” and to the expression “an equal partnership between the two founding races.” Since these terms are understood in different ways it is important at the outset to be clear about which meaning or meanings we shall use. Not that other usages are incorrect; we simply wish to advise the reader of those we have adopted for our purposes.

3. The essence of the Commission’s terms of reference is: “to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution. . . .” The words “bilingualism” and “biculturalism” are

¹ See Appendix I.

² *A Preliminary Report*, 184.

given prominence, but there are other terms of equal importance, especially the terms "race" (in the French text "peuple"), "ethnic group," and "the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada."

"Race" and
"people"

4. This wording, particularly the use in the English text of the word "race," has been a source of misunderstanding. Should it be taken to mean that two "races" or two "peoples" will receive special treatment at the expense of the "other ethnic groups"? Some understood it this way and strongly protested against any such recognition of a special birthright of two founding peoples. They objected to the suggestion of discrimination, which they read into the Commission's terms of reference, as inimical to the interests of Canadians who had come here after the French and the British. They pictured a kind of hereditary aristocracy composed of two founding peoples, perpetuating itself from father to son, and a lower order of other ethnic groups, forever excluded from spheres of influence. This was not the way in which we understood our terms of reference.

5. In our view the reference to the two "founding races" or "peoples who founded Confederation" is an allusion to the undisputed role played by Canadians of French and British origin in 1867, and long before Confederation. The word "race" is used in an older meaning as referring to a national group, and carries no biological significance. This becomes clearer on reading paragraph (2) of the terms of reference, where there is no mention of race, people, or ethnic group, but "of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures. . . ." Similarly, paragraph (1), dealing with the Public Service, and paragraph (3), referring to the teaching of the official languages, do not mention race, people, or ethnic group. Each in turn emphasizes the "basically bicultural character of the federal administration" and the problems connected with teaching French and English.

6. Consequently, we feel that language and culture are truly central concepts in the terms of reference. For this reason, we shall give them more emphasis than the notions "race," "people," or even "ethnic groups."

"Ethnic group"

7. In both popular and academic language the term "ethnic group" is used in several different ways. Generally, this term expresses a sense of identity rooted in a common origin, mainly in the biological sense, whether this common origin is real or imaginary. The concept of ethnic group is useful since it corresponds to unquestionable realities: every person is the offspring of his father and this notion of descent, found in the word "ethnic," has important consequences. Thus, quite apart from heredity, much of the culture of one's forbears can be preserved even

when one no longer speaks their language. Moreover, it would be particularly difficult to eliminate the idea of "ethnic origin," for it is the only available statistical measure—admittedly indirect—of certain phenomena, a knowledge of which is indispensable to our inquiry; many of our studies draw upon official Canadian statistics, which are based on ethnic origin.¹

8. Any person, be he "British," "French," or "other," has forbears and one or more ethnic origins. However, a sense of origin, the feeling of belonging to an ethnic group, is much keener in certain individuals than in others. Also, behaviour varies significantly from one group to another. Certain groups are said to "evaporate" in the Canadian milieu, while others vigorously assert themselves. From this point of view it seems that the important phenomenon is not ethnic origin itself, or even mother tongue, but the feeling of belonging to a group and the desire of this group to exist as such. It is by these criteria that some sociologists define an ethnic group; it exists, they say, "because the people in it and the people out of it know that it is one; because both the *ins* and the *outs* talk, feel and act as if it were a separate group."² Thus "ethnic group" so defined may be quite different from the statistical category covering those having a certain ethnic origin.

9. There are many reasons, the first moral, against considering ethnic difference, either by group or by origin, as a basic principle for shaping society. This would tend to create closed-membership groups with newcomers condemned to remain outsiders; accidents of ancestry would be emphasized and rigid barriers would divide people. Legislation based on ethnic origin or ethnic group would be a direct denial of the principle that all men are equal before the law.

10. Moreover, the practical difficulties would be extraordinary. If the son of a French father and a Scottish mother marries the daughter of a German father and a Ukrainian mother, to what ethnic group will their child belong? The Dominion Bureau of Statistics has arbitrarily solved the problem by declaring that the father's origin shall prevail. Thus, in the example presented above, the child would be declared French. Such mixtures are perhaps uncommon. But in a multi-ethnic country, where the largest group, the British,³ comprises several groups, where the French, although considered the most homogeneous

¹ The questions asked in the census: a) To determine ethnic origin: "To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?" b) To determine mother tongue: "What language did you first learn in childhood and still understand?" The categories "mother tongue" and "ethnic origin" as used in the census will be further examined in Chapter II of Book I.

² E. C. and H. M. Hughes, *Where Peoples Meet* (Glencoe, Ill., 1952), 156.

³ Under the English heading "British Isles," the 1961 census distinguishes between the English, the Irish, the Scots, and the "others"—other peoples of the British Isles, notably the Welsh.

group, is nevertheless far from being "pure," and where inter-ethnic marriages are frequent and accepted, in such a situation what could possibly justify legislation confining people within their so-called ethnic origin?

11. Finally, if we must admit that ethnic origin very often exerts a cultural influence on a person whose parents have chosen another language, the fact still remains that this influence cannot be measured, that it varies greatly between different groups and between people, and that no exact rule can be deduced from it. Therefore, without denying the importance of this factor, the Commission, since it must make recommendations based on easily discernible realities, concludes that it must give much more importance to language than to ethnic origin.

12. In many instances, ethnic group and mother tongue coincide. English is the mother tongue of almost all Canadians of British origin; French is the mother tongue of 90 per cent of Canadians who claim French origin. However, 26 per cent of Canadians whose mother tongue is English are of non-British origin. The French-speaking group has assimilated others to a much lesser extent, but nevertheless includes 3 per cent who are not of French origin. In Canada membership in a linguistic group is a matter of personal choice, provided that the conditions and consequences are accepted. There is nothing, at least in law, to bind Canadians to the prevailing language of their ethnic group. Since their choice is free, it would be grossly unfair not to accept the results of this freedom, and to make two classes of citizens, one consisting of Anglophones of British origin and Francophones of French origin, and the other of Anglophones and Francophones of other origins.¹

13. The Commission has observed in the course of its investigations that it is common practice in Canada to restrict the term "ethnic" to groups which are neither British nor French. Ethnicity then appears as a strange, possibly distasteful phenomenon: "ethnic" seems to be given a sense something like "foreigner." We object in the strongest terms to this practice.

14. Nevertheless, this attitude can be explained. Dominant groups are often more aware of the ethnicity of minority groups than they are of their own; awareness of their own ethnic affiliation is usually keener among members of minorities than among those of dominant groups. Hence it can be said that dominant groups are made up of those for whom ethnic affiliation is no embarrassment. Ethnicity is actually a natural but often very complex phenomenon, to which each one of us is

¹To avoid constant repetition of clumsy expressions such as "those who speak English," and "those whose main language is French," we shall often replace both of them with the simple terms "Anglophones" and "Francophones."

linked by his birth. However it is a phenomenon which the Commission, as it interprets its mandate, regards as being on the whole unrelated to its objectives.

15. Canadians who are of neither British nor French origin are covered by our inquiry in two ways: a) to the extent that they are integrated into English- or French-speaking society, all that is said of Anglophones or Francophones applies to them; and b) to the extent that they remain attached to their original language and culture, they belong to other ethnic groups, whose existence is definitely beneficial to the country. But their freedom to participate fully in Canadian life will be real only on two conditions: that both societies, the French-speaking as well as the English-speaking, accept newcomers much more readily than they have done in the past; and that the two societies willingly allow other groups to preserve and enrich, if they so desire, the cultural values they prize. We believe that they should go further. For this reason we shall examine, in the Book concerning the other ethnic groups, the kind of aid the two societies should offer, particularly in the fields of education, the mass media, and the creative arts.

16. This brings us directly to that part of our terms of reference instructing us to take into account "the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada." There are several possible interpretations of this statement. In the broadest sense of the term "culture," the sheer fact that men came from elsewhere to take part in building the country has contributed to our cultural enrichment. When they arrived, their essential concern was to continue the work of carrying civilization into the thinly populated areas. By settling the country they helped to lay the basis for Canada's cultural growth.

17. In a narrower sense Canadian culture has been the richer for the knowledge, skills, and traditions which all the immigrant groups brought with them. Their many distinctive styles of life have gradually increased the range of experience, outlook, ideas, and talents which characterize the country. Cultural diversity has widened our horizons; it has also given opportunities—not always seized upon—for varied approaches to the solution of our problems.

18. Finally, the coming together of diverse peoples in Canada also benefited our culture in the humanistic sense of the term. For a long time the frontier was not a rich soil for the arts and letters. Many of the frontiersmen had taken little part in the artistic life of their homeland, or if they had, they were forced to forgo such pursuits in the new country. As it matured, however, Canadian society turned to the search for grace and leisure, and the folk traditions preserved by the sons and daughters of the early settlers combined with the artistic

"The contribution of other ethnic groups"

sense, the talents, and the skills of later immigrants to add new dimensions to literature, music, and the plastic arts in Canada.

19. In any work of art it would be futile to try to distinguish between the contribution of the author as an individual and that of the cultural group to which he belongs; to ferret out the artist's origin, or the degree to which he reflects his ethnic group, would be no more rewarding. A work of art is first and foremost the work of an individual, but it always has roots in society. Finally, we must bear in mind that no artistic creation will take its place in the culture inherited by all Canadians unless its creator has become sufficiently integrated into the Canadian community to speak meaningfully to it.

20. We think it undesirable, even if it were possible, to measure various groups against a yardstick and say that some have contributed more and others less. Everett Hughes 20 years ago called attention to the absurdity of judging a group's right to exist "on the basis of the quality of its cultural peculiarities, called for this purpose its 'cultural contributions.'"¹ He was speaking at the time of French Canadians, but his words apply also to the other groups. Rather, our intention is to recognize and to point up the cultural and linguistic riches that Canada possesses, since to do so is a first and essential step towards safeguarding those riches.

The indigenous
cultures

21. We should point out here that the Commission will not examine the question of the Indians and the Eskimos. Our terms of reference contain no allusion to Canada's native populations. They speak of "two founding races," namely Canadians of British and French origin, and "other ethnic groups," but mention neither the Indians nor the Eskimos. Since it is obvious that these two groups do not form part of the "founding races," as the phrase is used in the terms of reference, it would logically be necessary to include them under the heading "other ethnic groups." Yet it is clear that the term "other ethnic groups" means those peoples of diverse origins who came to Canada during or after the founding of the Canadian state and that it does not include the first inhabitants of this country.

22. The integration of the native populations into Canadian society raises very complex problems. The process of integration calls into question the very nature of the traditions and customs of native society. The Commission realizes that it was not the Government's intention—and the terms of reference are a proof of this—to have the Commission undertake long studies on the rightful status of the Indians and the Eskimos within the Canadian Confederation; other bodies, whether official or private in nature—and most of the private organizations are

¹ *Where Peoples Meet*, 158.

financially assisted by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development—have been entrusted with the research required for the making of government policy.

23. However, the Commission considers it a duty to remind the proper authorities that everything possible must be done to help the native populations preserve their cultural heritage, which is an essential part of the patrimony of all Canadians. The Commission also feels that the Canadian government, in close co-operation with the provinces concerned, should take the necessary steps to assist the survival of the Eskimo language and the most common Indian dialects.

24. The Commission has been charged with the task of inquiring into “the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism” and “the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada.” In both cases it is primarily a question of linguistic and cultural matters, or linguistic and cultural aspects of political and socio-economic matters. Therefore, we shall speak more often of linguistic and cultural groups, rather than of ethnic groups.

Summary

A. *Bilingualism*

25. Since the subject of the first part of Book I is bilingualism, we shall limit ourselves at this point to some preliminary thoughts on the question. The word “bilingualism” may seem to many clear and unambiguous. Yet there are certain distinctions which must be made.

26. The bilingualism which here concerns us applies only to Canada’s two official languages, English and French. In everyday language “bilingualism” involves the use of any two languages. In Canada there are many persons considered unilingual in terms of the two official languages, but who are actually bilingual. The mother tongue of a number is neither French nor English. Generally these are Canadians who are members of the “other ethnic groups,” born in Canada or abroad, and who first learned the language of their own group—for example, German, Ukrainian, or Italian. They have subsequently acquired, with varying degrees of fluency, one of Canada’s official languages—usually English. Such persons retain their language more frequently in regions of Canada where the group is numerous. Thus there is a German-English, Ukrainian-English, Italian-English bilingualism, or, in Quebec, an Italian-French bilingualism, and so forth. However, in Book I our attention is directed to the two languages mentioned in section 133 of the B.N.A. Act, namely English and French. We shall discuss the other languages spoken in Canada in the appropriate Book.

French and English

Individual
bilingualism

27. In practice, people who are considered bilingual know, *more or less*, two languages. We know that complete bilingualism—the equal command of two languages—is rare and perhaps impossible. Generally, the bilingual people one meets combine a knowledge of their mother tongue with a more or less extensive and active knowledge of the second language.

28. We therefore have to be cautious. When the 1961 census speaks of approximately 2,230,000 bilingual people in the country, about 12 per cent of the population, this does not mean that these people can speak French and English equally well, and are therefore interchangeable. The figure includes approximately 1,666,000 Canadians of French origin, for whom English is generally only a second language; nearly 318,000 Canadians of British origin, for whom French is in most cases only a second language; and nearly 248,000 Canadians of other origins, for whom French and English may very well be merely second languages which have been acquired in varying degrees. It will be seen throughout the Report that these distinctions—and many others of a less simple character—have practical consequences.

Institutional
bilingualism

29. Up to this point, we have spoken only of the bilingualism of individuals. But the bilingual nature of an institution, a province, or a country is a totally different matter. A bilingual country is not one where all the inhabitants necessarily have to speak two languages; rather it is a country where the principal public and private institutions must provide services in two languages to citizens, the vast majority of whom may very well be unilingual. The same is true for a bilingual province or a bilingual institution. Consequently, “the existing state of bilingualism” in Canada is not so much a question of the number of bilingual people as of the position of each of the two languages in everyday life and of the opportunities actually offered to each of them.

30. Naturally a bilingual institution, province, or country can function efficiently only if there are a sufficient number of bilingual people to maintain contact between the two language groups. The importance of this problem is emphasized in paragraph (3) of our terms of reference, which enjoins the Commission to “recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.” The solution of this problem will often be difficult and we do not want to give the impression that we consider it unimportant. But the question of the life and the vigour of each language must have priority. The problem of the first language must come first: it is vital; it is more essential for the human being than questions about a second language. Therefore “the existing state of bilingualism in Canada,” in our opinion, means first the existing state of the English and French languages, each being first

considered by itself. We must inquire whether each has, in a real sense, the means to live.

31. Consider the importance of language for a particular group, and the political dimensions of this problem when the group is sufficiently important and moved by a common will to exist. This is very much a contemporary problem, which is dividing many countries—especially states born of post-war decolonization. Occasionally a desire is expressed that our country should not be engulfed in similar disputes, as if the countries so beset had deliberately provoked them and, perhaps, had even created them artificially. We feel that this attitude stems from a failure to appreciate the importance of the language problem and the explosive character which it often acquires, especially when it is not solved in a sufficiently liberal spirit. R. L. Watts, a specialist in constitutional questions, notes that the linguistic problem has had a determining influence on the structure of several new states.¹ Why is this so? A language permits communication with *anyone who understands it*.

The political importance of the linguistic phenomenon

But the problem goes deeper than the mere question of communication. Language itself is fundamental to activities which are distinctively human. It is through language that the individual fulfils his capacity for expression. It is through language that man not only communicates but achieves communion with others. It is language which, by its structure, shapes the very way in which men order their thoughts coherently. It is language which makes possible social organization. Thus a common language is the expression of a community of interests among a group of people. It is not surprising, then, that any community which is governed through the medium of a language other than its own has usually felt itself to some extent disenfranchised, and that this feeling has always been a potential focus for the political agitation. Moreover, like skin colour, language is an easily identifiable badge for those who wish to take issue with a different group, and thus it provides them with a rallying sign even for contests which are basically not those of language or race.

32. On one hand, language, viewed as a means of expression, is at the core of the intellectual and emotional life of every personality. On the other hand, viewed as a means of communication, it “makes possible social organization.” It is used for the trivia of everybody living, on the labour market, in professional activities, in several forms of recreation, in church, in clubs, in schools, and so on. Human contacts are established in one language. We shall mention later the difficulties, which may be dramatic in their intensity, faced by a bilingual person who must work in his second language—his sense of being diminished,

Its practical value

¹R. L. Watts, “Multicultural Societies and Federalism,” a study prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

the irritation which frequently results, and his loss of efficiency. There are situations in which this choice is unavoidable, especially when an individual is almost the only speaker of his language in a given environment. But the objective should be to impose the fewest possible sacrifices from which nobody benefits—neither the individual, nor his employers.

Conclusion

33. Nobody will therefore be surprised that the Commission devotes Book I of its Report to bilingualism. The Commission does not take the position that in dealing first with the problem of language it has reached the underlying causes of division between Canadians. In certain respects the problem of cultural duality is even deeper, and the political question has many components besides linguistic difficulties. Yet it is necessary to emphasize the importance of the language question. It is often minimized in Canada, sometimes by the English-speaking majority who, up to the present, have not generally had to endure this disadvantage and have therefore not suffered from it, and sometimes by the French-speaking minority itself. There are many French Canadians so accustomed to the inferior status of their own language that they are unaware of it, whereas others, especially in the last few years, approach the problem not at the linguistic but at the political and economic level, refusing to admit that new language arrangements could really improve the situation.

34. We believe such views are too narrow, because of something that makes the language picture still more significant: the strong bond between a language and a culture. Language is the most evident expression of a culture, the one which most readily distinguishes cultural groups even for the most superficial observer. In terms of our mandate, this statement means that the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism are inseparably linked.

B. Biculturalism

35. Before exploring the relationship between language and culture, and even before analyzing the concept of biculturalism, we wish to dwell for an instant on the word "culture" and explain the sense in which we shall use it. About three hundred definitions of this word have been recorded,¹ and in some disciplines several are used simultaneously.

The word "culture"

36. We will first eliminate the usage which embraces within the term "culture" every aspect of a group's existence. However accurate and

¹ A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (New York, 1963), 291.

practical this usage may be in other contexts, it is quite unsuitable for our purpose. It suggests that all North Americans, if not most of the people of the Western world, live in highly industrialized societies within the Judaeo-Christian tradition, and consequently possess a common culture. This conclusion is true, but it is too broad to help us much.

37. The same can be said of the traditional humanistic sense of the word "culture," but for the opposite reason: it is too restricted. We will have occasion to use the word in this sense, for instance, when we examine "the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada," and in the Book on the arts and letters in certain federal institutions.

38. The reality covered by the neologisms "biculturalism" and "bicultural"¹ appears to us to be broader, including more than intellectual and artistic activity. Moreover, the majority of briefs dealing with this question chose this broader conception of culture. In this sense, which we ourselves shall use, culture is a way of being, thinking, and feeling. It is a driving force animating a significant group of individuals united by a common tongue, and sharing the same customs, habits, and experiences. Clearly the two cultures designated in our terms of reference are those associated with the English and the French languages in Canada. But as there are the two dominant languages, there are two principal cultures, and their influence extends, in greatly varying degrees, to the whole country.

Our definition of "culture"

39. As can be seen, we use the words "bilingualism" and "biculturalism" to indicate two styles of living which are distinct, even though they obviously have much in common. Just as bilingualism should not lead to a *blend* of two languages, so Canada's cultural duality cannot be taken to mean a *mixture* of the two cultures; each has its own existence. Certainly the cultures are not watertight compartments; they are evolving and constantly borrowing from each other. To the extent that they are alive, they continually undergo change in accordance with their own drive and line of development. However, the culture of a group must not be confused with a particular system of thought, even though there may be correspondence at a given moment between a culture and an ideology; one ideology can be replaced by another, whereas the culture continues to live. Culture does not determine the thoughts or actions of the group; instead it colours the group's manner of thinking and acting. Culture is to the group rather what personality

Culture: a style of living

¹ This neologism, at least the adjectival form, goes back several years. We have not tried to retrace its history, but the earliest example we found was dated 1929. On January 17 in that year, Mr. Graham Spry used it in a lecture to the Canadian Club of Quebec, in which he referred to the "bi-racial, bi-cultural character of the Canadian nation." See *The Canadian Nation*, vol. I, February 1929, 15.

is to the individual; it is rare for a person to have two personalities or two styles of living at the same time.

40. Understood in this way, culture is the sum of the characteristics particular to a group and common to its individual members. Depending upon the degree of education, the social class, or the region, there will be different ways of living the same culture, as there are different ways of speaking the same language. Culture is something that draws together individuals who otherwise are clearly different.

Acculturation

41. Furthermore, individuals participate in a culture with varying intensities. People placed in a strange environment will be influenced by it, perhaps in every aspect or only in certain parts of their lives. This is the phenomenon of acculturation.¹ We know that some Franco-phones whose family life is still French in character gradually adopt at the plant or office behaviour patterns prevalent in the English-speaking environment. This progressive acculturation can be as difficult as learning a new language and subject to the same sort of problems. The individual makes "mistakes," not of language, but of culture; he expresses his new culture "with a foreign accent," he does not grasp swift passing allusions as quickly as his companions, and so on. We are not speaking metaphorically. The kind of relationship maintained with superiors, ways in which facts are stated and explained, the subjects which arouse deep emotion—all these can vary immensely between cultures. The person who is trying to adapt will find it hard to spot these differences, for in the sphere of culture there are neither grammars nor dictionaries to consult. He will be judged by actions he does not even suspect to be errors. But as time passes, he will become more sensitive, acculturation will likely increase, and in the end he may forget his mother tongue for lack of hearing and using it. He may become almost completely assimilated to another culture within one generation when he is immersed in a totally new environment; but such a phenomenon is rare.

42. Certainly, the realities of social life are too various to be reduced to neat phrases. Yet, in the final analysis, experience suggests that human beings are generally conditioned in varying degrees by an inherited culture, and that in Canada two styles of living predominate.

¹ The notion of acculturation will reappear throughout the Report. In its broadest sense, the word applies to the process of adaptation to a social or cultural group. We shall use it to designate the consequences ensuing for the individual when he is subjected to the more or less compelling influence of a culture other than his own. Understood in this way, acculturation can differ in degree, ranging from the individual's complete adherence to the patterns of his own culture, to his complete adherence to those of another culture. It is in this sense that the anthropologists use the term when they study interaction between two cultures at the individual level. The "scales of acculturation" which they design are used to measure the intensity of the phenomenon under given conditions.

43. The existence of two great, distinct cultures in our country may seem unreal to many Canadians, particularly to those who have very little contact with the other culture, and especially if they have no knowledge at all of the other language. A report issued by UNESCO states: "The person who, on the other hand, has never lifted the 'language curtain' behind which other people move and talk and think and feel in a way which is peculiar to them, may not even suspect that there *is* a way of living which is distinct from his own, let alone understand it."¹ This "otherness," so obvious in matters of language, so compelling in its concrete cultural manifestations, and yet so difficult to isolate and define, will be frequently illustrated in other parts of the Report and in several research studies.

Two major,
distinct cultures

44. We have already said the two dominant cultures in Canada are embodied in distinct societies, and that the word "society" designates "the types of organization and the institutions that a rather large population, *inspired by a common culture*, has created for itself or has received, and which it freely manages over quite a vast territory, where it lives as a homogeneous group according to common standards and rules of conduct."² We recognized the main elements of a distinct French-speaking society in Quebec. The same may be said of the other culture in the English-speaking provinces, and to a certain degree in Quebec, where the disadvantages of minority status are balanced for the English-speaking group by their membership in the larger Canadian English-speaking society and by a very advantageous socio-economic position.

Two societies

45. However, these divisions become less clear-cut as soon as we examine the situation more closely. On the French side there is not only the distinct society in Quebec; elements of an autonomous society are taking shape elsewhere. In some cases they are tenuous and of marginal importance, but in others they are advancing vigorously, especially in New Brunswick. Yet it is the English-speaking society which displays the greatest complexity, because of its provincial divisions, and because of the more diversified origins of its members. In some areas the English-speaking society incorporates partial societies which the bearers of cultures other than the British and French have set up in parts of the country where they are numerous enough to support organizations and institutions of their own. Although in the nature of things these cannot be complete—since they operate within a framework of institutions shaped by the British tradition and employ

¹ UNESCO, *The Teaching of Modern Languages* (Volume of studies deriving from the International Seminar organized by the Secretariat of UNESCO at Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon, in August 1953) (Paris, 1955), 11.

² *A Preliminary Report*, 111 [italics added].

for some purposes the English language—they are vital and significant for those who participate in them. Nevertheless, despite these centrifugal influences, the fundamental unity of the English-speaking society appears to us beyond question, and is particularly exemplified by the relative ease with which members of the various provincial units—and even members of the partial societies—find a common meeting ground in the central government, and enter its Public Service. These views were sketched in the *Preliminary Report* as a hypothesis; now, with considerable experience and investigation behind us, we restate them with greater certainty.

Biculturalism

46. In our view the term “biculturalism” covers two main realities. The first is the state of each of the two cultures, and the opportunity of each to exist and flourish. The second is the coexistence and collaboration of these two cultures within our country; that is to say, the set of conditions which will enable members of these two cultures to co-operate effectively.

47. When our terms of reference speak of the “existing state of . . . biculturalism” we take it as an invitation to examine the existence of each of the two cultures and their modes of co-operation. Reference to the “basically bicultural character” of the federal administration is not in our view a suggestion that individuals should strive to acquire the traits and peculiarities of the two cultures. What we are mainly asked to do is to establish whether both cultures possess the distinct institutions they need, whether they are properly represented within the principal common institutions, and whether persons who participate in each of them have the opportunity to conserve and to express their own culture. This latter point implies that complete effectiveness in these situations will require the individual to accept the existence of the other culture and to respect its particular character.

C. Relations between Language and Culture

A vital link

48. We have already approached the subject of the relationship between a given language and the culture of which it is the principal element. We said that language is in the first place an essential expression of a culture in the full sense of the word; from the intellectual standpoint language is certainly the most typical expression of culture. As a means of communication, language is the natural vehicle for a host of other elements of culture. It fulfils this function in many ways. Not only does it convey the notions and modes of expression which are part of a culture, it is also the means by which a cultural group discovers and assimilates new elements originating out-

side it. The integration into a language of new ideas or of foreign modes of expression is both a criterion of the vitality of the language and of the culture of the group which speaks it; conversely, the absence, more or less pronounced, of integration at this level is a symptom of weakness or of inadaptability in a language or culture.

49. We know that very many of the world's spoken languages or dialects are in large measure incapable of expressing the basic realities of the modern world, and therefore provide insurmountable handicaps for the groups who speak them. This difficulty is found in our country in certain Indian dialects. But there is more—and here we find ourselves at the core of the problems before the Commission. Even a great cultural language, even an international language like French, under certain sociological conditions, can wither away to the point where, for certain groups, it no longer expresses the essentials of contemporary civilization. In such a case the culture itself is in mortal danger; for nobody will maintain that a group still has a living culture, in the full sense of the term, when it is forced to use another language in order to express to itself the realities which make up a large part of its daily life.

The danger of
language atrophy

50. We are not concerned at this moment with the intrinsic qualities of a language, but with its daily use in certain activities. We shall see in a coming Book how truly this applies to the French language, even in Quebec, in the world of technology. There we shall find confirmation of Jacques Brazeau's statement that "in several respects French is an unused language" in Canada.¹ The consequences of this state of affairs are apparent, both for the language affected and for those who speak it, or rather, who no longer use it in some important part of their activities. The language itself becomes dangerously impoverished. Those who speak it "have unequal opportunities for work. In a plural society, two consequences follow from the dominance of one language: a limited utilization of the potential skills of those who do not know the dominant language perfectly and a disengagement of the other mother tongues from important aspects of social reality. These two consequences may well lead to a third: the unequal development of the various groups' human resources."²

51. When a culture has become fossilized, the problems raised here have hardly any meaning. Either the traditional ways are accepted and the language shows hardly any progression, or there is a flight from a culture and a language considered anachronistic, unless an attempt is made to settle for an unstable compromise. But these problems become

¹ Jacques Brazeau, "Language Differences and Occupational Experience," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXIX (1958), 536.

² *Ibid.*, 532.

acute as soon as a culture emerges from the phase of "survival" pure and simple and enters into a full acceptance of life with its risks and challenges. This is the adventure which is beginning in French-speaking Quebec. Among many Québécois—and a number testified before the Commission to this experience—the desire to integrate into the modern world does not in the least weaken the will to live in French, in their own way, using a language that is not degenerating but growing increasingly rich.

52. While languages are continually developing, each develops in accordance with its own genius; while cultures undergo change, each does so in accordance with its own dynamic, which is as unpredictable as life itself. We do not mean that a language must protect a group by isolating it from the others. We believe that the members of a group, receiving through the natural medium of their language the new elements which are integrated into their culture, will have a greater chance to develop normally in harmony with that culture. Here we must pay attention to a dual phenomenon of our time: on one hand there is the interpenetration of cultures; on the other, the incontestable fact that a small number of privileged cultural groups exercise an ever-increasing influence over others, because of modern media of communication. We would emphasize the very great distinction between the integration of new elements by a living culture—of which a vigorous language is an essential manifestation—and the passive acceptance by a weak cultural group of these same elements which are not integrated into, but rather placed alongside, its own cultural characteristics. In the latter case the group becomes increasingly hybrid, speaking an increasingly impoverished and corrupt language—the most visible symptom of the lack of adaptability of the group's culture.

53. At the other end of the scale, there is a close relation between the spread of a very small number of privileged languages and the spread of the culture of those who speak these languages; the word "culture" is here taken in its humanistic sense. The universality of French in the 18th and 19th centuries and the universality of English in the 19th and 20th centuries certainly had their counterpart in the widespread influence of French culture and of the culture of the two great English-speaking peoples.

Some necessary
distinctions

54. These are some of the reasons why it is proper to attach great importance to the question of language, though some may find this importance exaggerated. In order to round out our consideration of the relationship between language and culture, it may be useful to recall certain distinctions which are often not made with sufficient sharpness. Such lack of clarity may lead some to exaggerate the relationship between language and culture, and others to minimize it unduly.

55. For example, there is in Canada, especially among French-speaking people, a tendency to think of language and culture as synonymous. There seems to be an idea that the purity of the living language is a mirror of the vitality of a culture. This is an illusion. Many educated Francophones speak their mother tongue well but are in almost all other respects Anglicized or Americanized, in the sense that their ways of reacting, living, thinking, and expressing themselves are much closer to American and British cultures than to their original culture. This is a well-known phenomenon in the business world. At the same time, one language can embrace important cultural differences—a reality which appears to be amply confirmed by Great Britain and the United States of America. The same phenomenon appears in the group of countries where French plays an important role.

Language a necessary but insufficient condition

56. We conclude that the vitality of the language is a necessary condition for the complete preservation of a culture, but it is not at all the sole condition. A thorough treatment of the problem of bilingualism is necessary in our Report, but it would be quite insufficient, and in the last analysis illusory, to limit ourselves to this problem and to neglect other conditions equally vital to the maintenance and progress of the English and French cultures in Canada. We emphasize once again that this is why the Commission felt it had to give a broad interpretation—the only realistic kind—to its terms of reference.

57. The distinction between the existence of a language and that of a culture appears in another way. Many seem to believe that the members of a group who have adopted another language have completely lost their original culture. This is yet another illusion which has given rise to many misunderstandings. In Canada we can observe the indisputable survival of some cultural traits among native groups and among a number of groups of other ethnic origins. In fact, some of these groups attach the greatest importance to these elements of their ancestral culture. Such is the case, for example, among Canadian Jewish people, for whom the question of language hardly arises in everyday life. Similar phenomena are found among people of British and French origin themselves. Thus, in certain regions of the Maritime Provinces, many Acadians who have lost their language have retained Acadian characteristics and even an Acadian identity. Still clearer examples appear in English-speaking Canada where many elements of the population are well aware and very proud of their English, Scottish, Irish, or Welsh origin. The real persistence of certain cultural traits is evidence of this ethnic consciousness. These are elementary truths for English-speaking people, but French Canadians, with their marked tendency to equate culture with language, seem often singularly unaware of them.

Possible retention of cultural traits when language goes out of use

58. On the other hand, during our hearings we often heard Anglophones overstating, with understandable complacency, the possibilities of survival for a culture even after the language has been lost. They were fond of repeating that each group is quite free to preserve its culture, and that this is even a very good thing provided, however, that the use of English for practically every aspect of social life is willingly accepted. The ambiguity of this attitude should be realized because it reflects a serious misunderstanding of the importance of language and, by minimizing this importance, distorts reality. This attitude derives less from an objective interpretation of the realities of culture than it does from an understandable pragmatism on the part of some people, and touching illusions on the part of others. Original cultural traits survive only partially after the adoption of the English language, especially when several generations have passed. Some characteristics may remain, but can we still speak of a complete culture?

59. A distinction must be made here between the objective elements of a living culture, our main concern up to this point, and the degree to which people feel their membership in an ethnic or a cultural group and remain identified with it even if they have really moved well outside its ambit. This feeling is a most important psychological phenomenon and must be respected as a fact and as a right. But it must then be recognized that the word "culture" becomes increasingly narrow in meaning if, as most often happens, acculturation to the dominant group becomes more complete with each generation. Culture so understood can easily be reduced to a few personality features, some family customs which may be very much alive, and, in the last resort, simply folklore. All these things may persist long after the language has been lost, and they are not to be discounted. However, this narrow sense of the word "culture" in no way corresponds to that used in our Report, which is in accordance with well-established practice.

Conclusion

60. For the Commission, therefore, language is much more than a simple means of communication, and culture is much more than the persistence of a few psychological traits or expressions of folklore. We feel it is unacceptable to consider the French language in Canada, or the English language in Quebec, as a mere personal or family trait, encountered in church, in some associations, or at best in elementary school, but not elsewhere.

61. The life of the two cultures implies in principle the life of the two languages. Later, when we deal with the idea of equality, we shall see that, at the practical level, an attempt to make every possible provision for cultural equality is primarily an attempt to make every possible provision for linguistic equality.

D. Equal Partnership or “Le principe d’égalité”

62. The languages and cultures of this country can be thought of in many different ways. However, our mandate clearly states the problem in terms of equality: it postulates an “equal partnership between the two founding races” (“le principe de l’égalité entre les deux peuples” fondateurs). As we understand our mandate, this equality should be the equal partnership not only of the two peoples which founded Confederation but also of each of their respective languages and cultures. What we are aiming for, then, is the equal partnership of all who speak either language and participate in either culture, whatever their ethnic origin. For us the principle of equal partnership takes priority over all historical and legal considerations, regardless of how interesting and important such considerations may be.

63. From the outset we have believed this to be the mainspring of our terms of reference. We were not asked to consider merely the recognition of two main languages and cultures which might be granted entirely different rights; we were asked to examine ways in which the Canadian Confederation could develop in accordance with the principle of equal partnership.

64. It will be for Canadians to decide, mainly through their political parties and through their governments, whether to accept or to reject the principle of equality. Our task is, first of all, to determine the measure of equality now existing; but it is, above all, to propose a set of measures or a pattern which would make this equality possible.

65. Once again we must define our terms. There is a more basic equality antecedent to that postulated in our mandate—that of all human beings who, from birth, possess inalienable rights. As gradually clarified by experience and a growing public awareness, these rights today are expressed in such documents as the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* adopted by the United Nations in 1948. Article 2 of this document states that everyone is entitled to these rights “without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.” In 1960 the federal Parliament adopted the *Canadian Bill of Rights*¹ defining a person’s “human rights and fundamental freedoms,” which shall continue to exist “without discrimination by reason of race, national origin, colour, religion or sex.” Several Canadian provinces have banished by law many forms of discrimination. These individual human rights are unquestionable, and hold for all Canadians without exception.

Basic human
equality

¹ 8-9 Eliz. II, Chap. 44, Art. 1.

66. We are not asked by our terms of reference to deal with these fundamental rights. Our concern is the equality of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians as such, whatever their ethnic origin may happen to be.

The equality of
Francophones and
Anglophones as
such

67. At our meetings, witnesses have compared the aspirations of French-speaking Canadians with the aspirations of American Negroes, identifying the one with the other. This is an obvious error, at least if it is the traditional demands of the Negroes that are compared. As a general rule they wish to be assured of basic human rights, particularly those defined by the United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Until now, the vast majority of American Negroes have not demanded any particular linguistic or cultural rights; their desire has been complete integration into American society. This is not the attitude of French-speaking Canadians. Although discrimination has not disappeared in Canada and although it finds its victims in all groups, it can be said generally that the basic human rights of Francophones are, like those of other Canadians, taken as a matter of course. However, French-speaking Canadians want more than this. They are demanding not just the right to send their children to a public school, but their right to have a French public school; not only the right to work, but their right to work in French, and so forth. These are matters which our terms of reference bring before us.

1. Equality from the individual point of view

68. Equality may be simply that of the members of a linguistic and cultural group, or that of the group itself considered collectively. Individual equality means essentially that everybody has the same access to the various benefits of a society without being hindered by his cultural identity. Thus, it is not enough for members of a minority group to have access to the same activities, institutions, and benefits as the members of the majority group; that simply requires an absence of discrimination against individuals as such. The equality to which we refer requires that a person who engages in some activity or associates with some institution need not renounce his own culture, but can offer his services, act, show his presence, develop, and be accepted with all his cultural traits.

Social
institutions

69. Social relations in the world today are very complex and take in much more than the sum of personal behaviour. To understand them we must, in a sense, "depersonalize" them, and bring to light the mechanisms by which social groups (ethnic, cultural, or others) live side by side, integrate or separate, according to the different types of activities which men carry on. Social relationships, particularly in the world of labour, in consumer life, and in political life, are increasingly

shaped by social institutions which, so to speak, interpose themselves between individuals and impose on them a certain pattern of action. Interpersonal and intergroup relations, therefore, are often the result of institutional structures which mesh like the gears of a social mechanism to bring groups into contact. The resulting interdependence of both individuals and groups is not always conscious, but it is certainly real. Our search for equality cannot always proceed directly; it would be an illusion to think that equality between groups can be attained without transforming social institutions themselves.

70. The requirements of this ideal will be better understood if we consider an individual at different stages of his life. When a child leaves his family, the school must provide him with the environment and the practical means to develop in accordance with the spirit of his culture. This obligation will normally continue until he reaches his highest educational level. As an adult he will strive to progress in his work and career as he freely and naturally expresses the characteristics of his own cultural group, in an environment which not only allows for these characteristics, but incorporates and respects them. Outside his work, he will normally wish to benefit from the resources of culture and information which fit his mentality. He should be able to feel at ease in a religious group and in any association he may wish to join. As a citizen he will also want to be able to communicate easily with government agencies which affect him, and to identify himself with the political institutions and the symbols of his country.

71. This culture, permeating the various sectors of life and society, is simply an inheritance which the average person uses and transmits. The fact of participating in a living culture is in itself an immense benefit, but it is not enough for the creative minds in each cultural group. They feel the need to contribute to the evolution and enrichment of their own culture. The equality which concerns us presupposes that this urge can be equally well satisfied in either group, allowance being made, of course, for any inequalities arising from driving forces peculiar to each group. The individual must therefore be able to find, at all levels of human activity, a setting which will permit him to develop, to express himself, and to create in accordance with his own culture. He should not be obliged, should he wish to progress beyond a certain stage, to become so much a part of an alien setting that he is absorbed, and thereby eventually ceases to contribute to the cultural advancement of his own group.

The creative
minds

72. Just as the equality of all before the law cannot do away with all inequalities (notably those of intelligence, courage, health, and education), equality between the two dominant languages and cultures

Genuine equal
opportunities

cannot mean absolute equality of the members of both groups. The point at issue is essentially equality of opportunity, but *a real equality of opportunity*—an equality ensuring that the fact of speaking English or French would be neither a help nor a handicap to a person seeking entry into the institutions affecting our individual and collective life.

The scope of
inequality as it
exists in practice

73. We have deliberately outlined this ideal in absolute terms, which some people will consider over-simplified, in order to emphasize the great gap which separates the cultural groups. The members of a privileged group living under almost perfect conditions are tempted to take their situation for granted and not to stop to consider what others are missing. Members of the underprivileged group may reach a greater or lesser degree of alienation, and so become unaware of their cultural underdevelopment or of the hybrid nature of their culture, not to mention the inferiority complex which so often inhibits them and makes them feel inadequate.

74. Some analyses in this Report will show that cultural equality, as understood here, hardly exists between Canada's two main language groups. Indeed, if the facts are examined in the light of the norms that we have suggested, one may be tempted to despair of establishing the conditions for equality which form the main theme of this Report. At the very least, we must be realistic. We have no intention of proposing the impossible; it will never be possible for the members of the two main cultural groups to enjoy the advantages described above throughout the country on an equal footing. We first must see to what extent the wide gulf between current reality and an ideal cultural equality can be reduced. Inevitably in some areas there will be a striking gap between the state of affairs described and the recommendations offered for its reform. Political decisions cannot rapidly or radically change a long-standing state of affairs or old ways of thinking. We are sufficiently aware of this fact not to propose arbitrary measures based on abstract theory rather than on realities. A realistic approach avoids the possibility of unrealistic expectations among members of the minority; it also invites breadth of vision from the majority, which should be more aware than before that it will in any case always be in a privileged position. Moreover, the terms of reference do not present equality as a matter of mathematical equivalence, but more wisely as a question of "*what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership. . . .*"¹

The law of
numbers

75. What does the most elementary realism tell us? That although an Anglophone isolated among French-speaking Canadians and a Francophone isolated among English-speaking Canadians may possess

¹ Italics our own.

all the theoretical rights imaginable, each is able to exercise these rights to a very limited extent. A milieu is not transformed for one individual; a university is not built for a single family. The operation of a whole local administration cannot be changed to suit five or six employees. Number is a determining factor in such cases. It is possible to imagine a language and a culture being transmitted in spite of the surrounding environment, but an unusually fierce determination and uncommon readiness for sacrifice would be required.

76. This same realism also teaches us other lessons. Some things become feasible when 50 or 60 families of the same language and culture live in the same area and have a common purpose. Rights which could only be theoretical for a smaller linguistic community can more easily be put into practice; for example, a kindergarten can be opened. Other things can be done when there are 5,000 or 10,000 people in the same area (for example, a radio station can be supported), or when there are 20,000 or 30,000 people (for example, a television station).¹ Thus the equality of which we speak is not absolute, but begins to be realized almost automatically as soon as it is feasible in a given area. It is not discussed in each case as if it were necessary to invoke a new principle every time. If the minimal conditions are present, the linguistic systems automatically assure that equality will be realized in concrete situations. To view equality in this way does not mean that we think the two main linguistic groups will enjoy the same services everywhere; this would be absurd in practice. It does mean that wherever similar conditions are found, similar services will be offered.

2. Equality from the point of view of communities

77. Thus it is evident that, at our level of analysis, languages and cultures are essentially collective phenomena. One may try, as we have done, to isolate the problems of the individual Francophone and Anglophone; however, within our frame of reference such an undertaking would soon become abstract, unless it led us back to the world of real social problems. The fact is that a given language as a means of communication and expression exists to permit the individual to communicate with others, and to express himself and make himself understood. Likewise a given culture expresses a common background of experience and attitudes and it can flourish only if the individual lives with others who share in this common background. This means that a culture will be fully experienced only within its own complete society; elsewhere it will certainly live, but poorly, being limited by the number

¹ Numbers are used as illustrations only.

of its members and the strength of such institutions as they have. Hence the great importance of the concept of two distinct societies as developed in our *Preliminary Report*.

78. Individual equality can fully exist only if each community has, throughout the country, the means to progress within its culture and to express that culture. To this end it will have its own institutions in certain fields, while in other sectors it will be free to participate, on satisfactory terms, in common institutions and agencies.

In economic life

79. The collective aspect of equality manifests itself also in economic life. Most people spend a great part of their waking hours at work, and if the environment in which they earn their living is not hospitable, inevitably they are dissatisfied. It follows that full participation by both English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians in the institutions of the working world is an important element in an equal partnership. Not only must individual Anglophones and Francophones feel that there are no linguistic or cultural barriers to their progress in commerce and industry; they must also feel that as a linguistic and cultural group they share in the direction of economic life, in making those decisions which so largely determine everyone's future living conditions. The presence or absence of a strong representation from each language group in the strategic posts of command—in senior management, senior scientific and technical direction, and on the boards of directors of major business firms—will do much to determine whether a sense of partnership exists.

80. A subsequent Book of this Report will present detailed evidence of the place occupied by each of the two dominant languages and cultures in both the private and public sectors of the working world. But it is common knowledge that English is the principal working language in the upper levels of business even in Quebec, and that Anglophones hold the lion's share of the posts there. In Quebec, and even more so in Canada as a whole, those firms which provide most employment and which most influence the course of economic development are owned and controlled by English-language interests. The popularity of a slogan like "*maîtres chez nous*" indicates the sense of frustration induced by this situation. We believe the notion of equal partnership connotes a vast enlargement of the opportunities for Francophones in both private and public sectors of the economy. The Commission will give close attention to measures designed to create conditions of work which will equalize the chances and improve the career preparation of those whose first language is French.

In politics

81. Finally, let us consider another dimension of equality between the two communities—the political dimension. This covers the possibili-

ties for each society to choose its own institutions or, at least, to have the opportunity to participate fully in making political decisions within a framework shared with the other community.

82. The collective aspect of equality is here still more evident; it is not cultural growth and development at the individual level which is at stake, but the degree of *self-determination* which one society can exercise in relation to another. We have in mind the power of decision of each group and its freedom to act, not only in its cultural life but in all aspects of its collective life. We are no longer concerned with the characteristics which distinguish the two communities qualitatively, or even with their respective social and economic positions, but with the extent of the control each has over its government or governments. This is the basis for the discussion of the constitutional framework in which the two societies can live or aspire to live: a unitary or a federal system; special status for the province in which the minority group is concentrated; or again, for the same part of the country, the status of an associate state; or finally, the status of an independent state.

83. People who are used to making a clear distinction between problems of this type and cultural problems, or who even separate them entirely, will be surprised to see such a political dimension introduced here. Again we find a not unnatural difference between the outlook of a self-confident majority group and that of a minority which is well aware of its weakness. A politically dominant majority easily takes its advantages for granted and does not take into account the difficulties of the minority, especially when that minority is treated with a degree of liberality, or at least an appearance of liberality, in cultural matters. But as soon as the minority is aware of its collective life as a whole, it may very well aspire to the mastery of its own existence and begin to look beyond cultural liberties. It raises the question of its political status. It feels that its future and the progress of its culture are not entirely secure, that they are perhaps limited, within a political structure dominated by a majority composed of the other group. Consequently, it moves in the direction of greater constitutional autonomy. Ideally, the minority desires the same autonomy for the whole of the community to which it belongs; but where it cannot attain this objective, it may decide to concentrate on the more limited political unit in which it is incontestably the majority group.

84. This viewpoint, so hotly opposed by some, is deeply entrenched in Quebec. It has even been, in recent years, at the root of some of the most spectacular, if not the most serious, manifestations of the crisis in Canada. To ignore it in this Report would not only constitute an error; it would very likely mean that Quebec would refuse to listen to us, and

that English-speaking Canada would be deprived of the chance to become aware of an especially grave element in the present situation.

General
consequences

85. Such are the main aspects of the notion of equality which has remained the steady preoccupation of the Commission. The implications will be examined, as we proceed, in each of the Books to follow. Nevertheless, we will conclude this section of the Introduction with a general proposition. Since the principle of equality applies to two linguistic and cultural communities, one much larger than the other, it automatically implies the acceptance of the concept of a minority as something worthy of respect; it also leads us to make the most of existing situations.

Respect for the
idea of minority

86. The principle of equality implies respect for the idea of minority status, both in the country as a whole and in each of its regions. Within the provinces or smaller administrative entities, both Anglophones and Francophones live in some cases as a majority, in some cases as a minority. Since the English-speaking population is larger across the country, its members are less often in the minority; but they are the minority in some areas, especially in the province of Quebec. The Francophones are usually in the minority outside Quebec. In either case, however, the principle of equality requires that the minority receive generous treatment.

87. This proposal may seem Utopian, but is it really so? Recognizing the rights of a linguistic minority does not reduce those of the majority: with a little good will, the rights of both can be exercised without serious conflict, as is clearly demonstrated by the examples of Switzerland and Finland. In other words, a majority does not abdicate when it resolves to take a minority into consideration; it remains the majority, with the advantages its situation implies, while at the same time demonstrating its humanity.

88. This is political wisdom too. The history of countries with more than one language and culture shows how often rigid attitudes held by majorities have made common life difficult, if not impossible. The use of force, in any circumstances, results in either revolt or submission. Besides, for the majority to hold back from acts within its power or to allow events it would be able to prevent, out of respect for the minority, is not a product of weakness but a step forward in civilization. In this spirit too will we approach the matter of the other minorities.

Consolidation of
the present
situation:
Quebec

89. We must work to develop and consolidate existing situations where they provide the possibility of establishing a certain equilibrium between the two communities. We know that Anglophones form the majority in nine of the ten provinces of Canada; Francophones form

the majority in Quebec. This is a state of affairs which should be turned to account. Indeed, the concentration of more than 4,000,000 Francophones in a single province is the only factor which gives some reality, at the outset, to the concept of equal partnership. Quebec constitutes an environment where the aspirations and the needs of four out of five Francophones in Canada can be satisfied. The mere fact of this concentration leads to a spontaneous French way of life and makes that way of life easier to organize. This is why we believe the place of the Québécois in the French fact in Canada will in practice have to be recognized much more than it is today; we are thinking particularly of the world of work, in the federal public sector and in the private sector. But there is also a political aspect: Quebec is the only province where French-speaking Canadians are in the majority and the English-speaking in the minority. Here the weight of numbers favours the Francophones, and it is a powerful lever. They can exercise a preponderant influence in their own province; they can also make themselves heard by the rest of the country, especially in the federal Parliament, and thus take an active part in the life of Canada. Of course there are risks involved. The problem can be succinctly formulated. How can we integrate the new Quebec into present-day Canada, without curbing Quebec's forward drive and, at the same time, without risking the breaking up of the country?

90. All these facts combine to give Quebec a leading role in promoting the French language and culture in Canada, whatever may be the political solution finally adopted. This conclusion is in the nature of things; it is not the outcome of ideology or some messianic notion. In this sense it is an obvious and incontrovertible fact that Quebec is not "a province like the others."

91. Furthermore, a significant number of Francophones live in New Brunswick and in Ontario, next door to Quebec. Because of this contiguity, and for historical reasons, the French language has deep roots there—an important fact that in our opinion should receive more notice from these two provinces. A chain of historical and geographical links unite the Acadians of the Maritime Provinces. Interprovincial co-operation, already under way, opens up the possibility that some of New Brunswick's French-language institutions could extend their service beyond the boundaries of the province, in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and even the adjoining regions of Quebec.

92. We can see what profound changes in attitude will be necessary if the principle of equal partnership is accepted. We shall see this still more clearly as we explore the various spheres in which the principle must be applied.

Consolidation of
the present
situation: New
Brunswick and
Ontario

E. External Factors

93. Throughout our Report we shall be studying that sector of Canadian life specified by our terms of reference. However, our understanding of this reality would be distorted if we did not at the same time take account of the powerful influence of certain other factors; among these we should mention religious considerations, our immediate proximity with the United States, and the technological revolution now in progress.

Religion

94. A development of great consequence has appeared in the religious sphere. Although, strictly speaking, religion is not one of the matters before us, it does affect them profoundly, and its influence can be perceived in contemporary Canada in a variety of ways. More and more we live in pluralistic societies, wherein certain over-simplified kinds of identification become less and less possible; for example, in the eyes of many French Canadians, not long ago, to be "English" was to be Protestant, and for many English Canadians, speaking French was tantamount to professing Roman Catholicism. Perhaps with this in mind, the Fathers of Confederation, or at least some of them, thought that by guaranteeing the educational rights of religious minorities (in section 93 of the B.N.A. Act) they would also protect the linguistic minorities. In any case, subsequent developments and the increased complexity of the societies have made it necessary to distinguish between religious and linguistic affiliation, and this distinction is nowadays made with greater readiness.

95. Moreover, the distinction between truly spiritual matters and temporal affairs has become more usual and more precise. Formerly, French Canadians commonly spoke of the language as "guardian of the faith." This statement is almost out of use, or else is used with great care, the autonomy of each domain being recognized at least implicitly. It is therefore much easier to discuss linguistic and cultural questions without running the risk of unleashing strong religious feelings. Even though these may still exist, few people today are inclined to invoke denominational considerations in order to oppose measures affecting language.

96. Meanwhile the ecumenical movement is gaining ground, and increasing the mutual respect and understanding among Christian communions. The Roman Catholic bishops have written: ". . . it seems incomprehensible that the religion of Christ has so often divided us, instead of bringing us together."¹ It is a fact that, in the past, religious

¹ *Lettre collective des Évêques catholiques du Canada à l'occasion du Centenaire de la Confédération/A Letter from the Assembly of the Roman Catholic Bishops of Canada on the Occasion of the One Hundredth Year of Confederation* (Ottawa, 1967), 9.

divergences have had the effect of rendering the settlement of certain controversies seemingly hopeless, particularly those concerned with education. The Roman Catholic bishops, whose statement appears to us to reflect the judgement of several Christian and non-Christian faiths, go on to declare that: "Christian thinking of today, inspired by the ecumenical movement, inclines us to pass harsh judgment on these attitudes of the past, and to regret them keenly."¹ Of course, the ecumenical movement transcends questions of language, but it engenders attitudes which are beginning to influence daily affairs. In a very general way, and beyond the limits of the Christian churches, it is creating an atmosphere in which men of different religious beliefs have learned the art of constructive dialogue. In such an atmosphere intolerance tends to lose its force, both in religious and cultural groups.

97. In a quite different connection we must refer to a fact of even more immediate influence: Canada shares the North American continent with a country which is the richest and one of the most dynamic in the world. The United States today is one of the prime agents of scientific and technological progress; it is the home of very far-reaching social changes and a conveyor of new values. The United States exercises an extraordinary influence on other countries by virtue of its almost universal presence and its unparalleled resources. Canada, sharing with the United States the longest undefended border in the world, is faced with a continual challenge. It must adjust to American standards at every level, so that there is a constant drive to exceed past efforts, to renew what exists, and to advance as a community. But Canada must also cope with the American influence in all fields, especially those of culture and the mass media, and in economic and military activities. This presence is so strongly felt that it actually dominates some sectors and it constantly threatens the vitality of the Canadian cultures. Linguistically, the proximity of more than 200,000,000 Anglophones cannot help but strongly condition Canadians—and especially French Canadians—whose minority situation becomes particularly evident when it is viewed on the continental scale.

98. The American presence in Canada draws our attention to a range of immense social transformations. Indeed, we are sometimes misled into labelling as "American" facts and attitudes which are simply modern, because they first appear in the United States and are transmitted to us through American channels. Such is the case for perhaps the most fundamental change of our time: the adoption of a highly technological style of producing and distributing goods and

The omnipresence
of the United
States

The second
industrial
revolution

¹ *Ibid.*

services. This second industrial revolution has not only given us an avalanche of material products and a fascinating cascade of new services; it has also wrought profound psychological changes and basically altered the social structure. One aspect has been described as the "revolution of rising expectations." Every stratum of Canadian society has redefined its notion of the good life in terms of easy access to the fruits of modern technology. Rural populations have followed hard on the heels of city dwellers in claiming as their due the style and standards of living of an industrial and technological civilization. English-speaking and French-speaking societies show little difference in their determination to participate fully in this civilization. Any solution to the problems of partnership between Francophones and Anglophones must therefore take account of the firm intention of both groups to live in a society in which the massive production of goods and services and their distribution to a mass market are cardinal concerns.

99. It is clear that neither Anglophones nor Francophones want to conserve all the values and styles of living of their respective pasts. The problem is rather to retain something distinctive in both the French and English cultures in a period of rapid change, in which the institutions of each society have to be continuously modified and reformed. The family, the school, the university, the business firm, the city, and the church are not immutable structures. Rather, they are steadily and sometimes laboriously evolving, and the citizens who man them are engaged in the exciting but demanding task of adjusting the foundations of their social life. None of us is untouched by the promising future which the world of technology opens to us if we can meet its requirements sensibly and constructively. None of us wholly escapes the moments of alarm induced by its attendant risks.

100. This theme could take us much further, but we must leave it here for the moment. We shall not deal with it directly in Book I of this Report; however, it will form an integral part of our subsequent consideration of the work world, education, and the mass media. It is a dimension of today's and tomorrow's world which must never be forgotten, unless we are to ignore present realities. It should be pointed out that the mandate of this Commission is to specify the conditions of a more equal partnership in Canadian social life. The efforts to stabilize the partnership are being considered at a point in time when the external conditions of the partners are undergoing massive changes and dislocations. All of our recommendations are implicitly hedged by our recognition that we are formulating them in a country which is being transformed on a grand scale.

101. These are nevertheless stimulating times, and technology is opening vistas never before perceived. This is particularly true of the world of communications and transportation. The planet is becoming a unit, first because of modern technology, but also thanks to the international organizations with which mankind has provided itself, such as the United Nations and UNESCO, whose influence is spreading by dint of great effort. Moreover, we observe, notably in Europe with its Common Market, a tendency to supersede frontiers and to pool certain jurisdictions which only yesterday were held to be intangibly linked with the sovereignty of the state. At the same time, the various human communities are finding new ways of living and escaping from the prevailing conformity. Thus, in the same moment that internationalism is being actively discussed, decolonization has made us spectators of a veritable explosion of nationalisms. Nationalism is particularly strong in countries recently liberated from former empires, and is frequently a threat to internal unity. It also provides the inspiration for the two linguistic communities of a country like Belgium, which is a particularly striking example of this twofold movement: it is a member of the Common Market, and at the same time the Flemings and the Walloons are forcefully asserting the existence of their respective languages and cultures.

The trend towards world unity, and the explosion of nationalisms

102. Canada is well equipped to communicate with the world and to assert its presence. Its two languages and two principal cultures link it with all parts of the world where English and French are in current use. The other ethnic groups add to the picture linguistic and cultural ties with the Slavic world, the Icelandic-Scandinavian and German *Kulturkreis*, the Latin world, and the Mediterranean area. The presence of native Eskimo and Indian languages and cultures means that Canada shares with New Zealand, Australia, and many other countries of Asia, Africa, and the Americas the duty to provide for the native elements in its population. Official bilingualism and the rejection of the "melting pot" idea have left many ethnic groups free to preserve their cultural identity, and have retarded considerably the acculturation of this country's heterogeneous population. With its wealth of human, linguistic, and cultural resources, Canada reflects the world in microcosm.

Canada's ties with the world, through language and culture

103. In Canada's Centennial year, this was particularly noticeable at EXPO 67, with its theme "*Man and His World*." Sixty-one countries came together at Montreal's International World's Fair, and the reception of this event by Canadians was striking in its fervour and enthusiasm. For Canadians EXPO was a common effort, and our pride in it was due to the quality of the achievement. We built together, looked together in the same direction, to quote the apt words of Saint-Exupéry. This venture in equal partnership, all the more

Man and His World

remarkable because it brought us into association with half the world, will remain as one of the fruitful experiences of our history.

104. The Commission has been charged to examine some of the permanent conditions of this type of collaboration. We are therefore bound, during this examination, to scrutinize concrete situations, to note weaknesses, to observe failures and inequalities; but we are also called upon to propose reforms, almost all of which will demand that we should be truly greater than ourselves. The challenge will then be "to look together in the same direction." Certainly life shows that good intentions are not enough. But life also proves that the most ingenious reforms are of no avail unless they are undertaken in friendship, the soul of all valuable association.

1. Book I of our Final Report is devoted to the status of the official languages of Canada, English and French. In Part 1, after making the necessary distinction between individual bilingualism and state bilingualism, we examine the two main linguistic groups and the legal status of English and French in Canada. We devote Part 2 to the study of the measures which will enable the public authorities to ensure an equal status to the two languages.

2. As our *Preliminary Report* showed, opinions of Canadians are divided on the very idea of bilingualism and on its applications. There are two extreme views: one holds that bilingualism is a matter of individual concern, the other that it is applicable only to institutions. Among those who consider that bilingualism applies only to individuals, some think *a priori* that bilingualism is an evil to be resisted, while others see it as the source of all good. Of those who hold the second view, many consider the bilingual institution a false lure, while others steadfastly believe in the need for it. We believe that these opinions are not so much opposed to each other as confused and vague on the notion of the "bilingual person" or the bilingual institution.

3. This confusion has prompted us to state our views on both individual bilingualism and the bilingual state. We shall discuss both the complex nature of individual bilingualism and the great number and variety of bilingual states in the world today, so that we may then try to understand in what respects Canada is similar to or differs from other bilingual countries.

A. Individual Bilingualism

Bilingualism
is universal

4. Individual bilingualism, the alternate use of two languages, is a very complex matter. To begin with, it is found in every country of the world. The universality of bilingualism stems from three factors: there are more languages than nations; some languages are more widespread than others; and populations are increasingly mobile.

5. There are indeed some 2,500 languages in the world, but less than 150 states to house them. It is obvious therefore that a good proportion of mankind inhabits countries in which more than one language is used. Secondly, some of the world's languages—because of the political, cultural, or economic power of those who speak them—have spread far beyond the frontiers of the country where they have the status of a national tongue. In India, Africa, and in many other parts of the world it is far from unusual to find people who speak one of these other languages besides their own. Languages such as Greek and Latin have at various times in history been current among the cultured to supplement the vernacular. Finally, since a proportion of the world's population has always been moving from one area to another, it has always been necessary for people in different parts of the world to become acquainted with a language other than their own—that is, to be bilingual.

Bilingualism is
multi-dimensional

6. All bilingual persons are not bilingual in the same ways. The quality of bilingualism differs according to the languages concerned, the uses each language is put to, the degree of interference between the languages, and the way in which the speaker keeps them apart. To these factors, inherent in the speaker, is usually added the stability and prestige of the languages involved and the geographic distribution of those who speak them.

7. Bilingualism has many other aspects. The person struggling in another language illustrates quite clearly the dimension of proficiency. The daily activities of many people force them to change their language to suit what they are doing, illustrating the functional aspect of language. The dominance of one language over another is shown by the fact that most bilinguals prefer one of their languages to the other, or allow one to influence the other, as their characteristic accents and typical sentence forms will indicate. But these factors are always relative, so that bilingualism itself is never an absolute quality.

Bilingualism
is relative

8. One of the greatest obstacles to understanding the nature of bilingualism—and probably to accepting it—is the still commonly-held notion that, to be bilingual, a person must have an equal command of two languages. In fact, this phenomenon is so distinct as to have a special name, “equilingualism.”

9. Insistence on an equal command of two languages as the criterion of bilingualism has long retarded research in this field. In recent years, however, the concept of bilingualism has become broader. It is now no longer identified with equilingualism, which some consider to be theoretically and practically impossible; for they believe that a bilingual's language learning experience would have to be identical in both languages in order to produce identical results.

10. The broadening of the concept of bilingualism has been due largely to the realization that the point when a person speaking a second language becomes equilingual is impossible to determine, or must be arbitrarily designated. Absolute mastery of two languages, moreover, seems to be very rare. Unilingual speakers vary a great deal in the degree of skill with which they use their own language. Even identical twins have been known to learn their mother tongue at different rates. It is not surprising that bilingual persons likewise differ.

11. Some people who may be called bilingual find it easy to understand both languages but are able to express themselves in only one. Known as receptive bilinguals, these persons can only receive communications in both languages. In other words, they are limited to reading and/or listening to a second language. But such skills have enabled the educated at all times and in all quarters of the globe to acquire knowledge available in languages other than their own. Because of this, educational systems in virtually every country in the world have included a second language among the subjects taught in school. Hence the training of large segments of the population in these receptive skills can be a realistic objective, since listening and reading abilities in a foreign language are easier to acquire through study than are the active skills of speaking and writing.

12. There are bilinguals who are "at home" in both languages, those who speak the second language fluently but with an accent, those who speak both languages differently from unilingual persons. There are those who find it easier to speak than to understand the other language, while for others understanding comes more easily than speaking. In each of these skills, however, bilinguals often show a marked preference for one of their languages; some can express themselves well in both languages, but in certain contexts feel at home in only one. This preference may vary over a period of time—one language, for example, being dominant in childhood and the other later on in life. But, even over a relatively short period, bilinguals are not equally bilingual. Linguistic observations of the speech of families making continual use of two languages indicate a vacillation in the skill with which the children use each of the languages. All persons who become bilingual through environment experience periods in which one language and

then the other becomes predominant. Obviously, if this process always follows the same direction, it can eventually eliminate one of the languages—even the mother tongue.

13. Some parents may encourage this process for social and economic reasons, so that their children will be better integrated or even linguistically assimilated into the dominant group. This indeed has been the practice of certain immigrant families in all parts of the world. It also has been the practice in certain bilingual communities where the social status of one of the languages was markedly inferior to that of the other.

Creole and dialect
bilingualism

14. When languages of different social status have been in contact for a long enough time, one of the languages will inevitably show a marked influence upon the other. Under certain circumstances, both may become fused into a single language, developing a “creole” form of a standard language. This new form of the language may be spoken by later generations; in addition to this creole the educated may also master the standard form, thereby becoming bilingual. But they are bilingual in the sense that they speak both the standard language and one of its creoles. This is not far removed from dialect bilingualism which includes the use of both the standard speech and one of its regional dialects. By the same token, however, bilingualism could very well be extended to include the use of two separate social dialects or different registers.

15. Certain persons, however, daily use more than two languages. Because of this, linguists have sometimes urged that we do away with the word “bilingualism” and replace it with a term not indicating the number of languages involved. Words like “plurilingualism” and “multilingualism” have been suggested. However, the well-established term “bilingualism” is likely to continue in the foreseeable future to mean the use of two languages.

16. From all this it is plain that individual bilingualism involves more than the equal mastery of two languages. Such a limited concept excludes the many variations resulting from the coexistence of two or more languages in the same individual or in the same community. It ignores all the necessary variations in social function, status, and pressure of the different languages and their influence on each other. Individual bilingualism, therefore, is not an absolute. It is and must be a relative concept.

B. The Bilingual State

17. Bilingual or multilingual states are not identified by the proportion of bilingual citizens which inhabit them and they have surely not been created to promote individual bilingualism. Individual bilingualism

is obviously found in officially bilingual countries. But there are fewer bilinguals in some such countries than there are in some of the world's unilingual states. Yet this does not in itself make these countries bilingual states. Individual bilingualism is therefore quite distinct from state bilingualism.

18. Nor have bilingual states been created to preserve ethnic groups. People of the same ethnicity do not necessarily belong to the same cultural or linguistic group. People of all sorts of ethnic origins speak English and French as mother tongues; there is no such thing as an English or a French "race." Indeed the racial stocks from which the English- and French-speaking peoples who settled in Canada have sprung are largely identical, even in the aspects of the Celtic and Nordic mixtures which each represented. The greater part of both Britain and France had long been inhabited by people of Celtic stock before they were overrun first by Roman legions and several centuries later by Germanic and Nordic tribes. In France the Celtic dialects were supplanted by the language of the Romans but in Britain they were replaced by the languages of the Germanic invaders.

The ethnic
group

19. Still, as we have pointed out earlier, there is such a thing as a French culture and a British culture. Of course, the differences between them are not as great as they would be if either were compared to one of the many Asian or African cultures. In Canada, the Anglophones and the Francophones wear the same sort of clothing, live in the same sort of houses, and use the same tools. They are very similar in their social behaviour, belong to religions which are not exclusive, and share the same general knowledge. To a greater or lesser extent, they share a North American way of living. But at the same time the cultures of the two are clearly different in many important aspects, including modes of thought and even styles of life.

20. Perhaps it is chiefly because they do not share the same language that they do not belong to the same cultural group. For language is the main instrument of social consciousness. Language defines group boundaries and excludes outsiders.

21. It is not surprising that language difference has been one of the main forces which have kept groups apart—groups large and small, from big nation-states to tiny local tribes. It is only natural for people who speak the same language to want to live and work together. This is the reason why the main language boundaries and political boundaries have so often coincided. Historical illustrations of this assertion can readily be seen in the rise of modern European states. One can also trace the same correspondence between language and political boundaries in Asian and African countries.

Language and
nationality

Plurilingual
societies

22. Yet over much of the earth's surface, the richly varied distribution of languages, along with other factors, has reduced mankind throughout much of its history to a choice between remaining in small tribal units or grouping into larger multilingual associations. On every continent, the development of advanced societies has further narrowed the choice. Modern social organization functions best in a relatively large territorial and economic unit, and has encouraged different language groups to associate. In all plurilingual societies, linguistic tensions must be handled by the normal working of the political process.

23. It should be noted, however, that in different parts of the world the circumstances of language contact have varied widely. Along the borderlands of Asia and in Eastern Europe, for instance, there has been an intermixture of peoples and cultures which has remained relatively stable, in a linguistic sense at least, since the invasion of the Tartars. Much of the rest of the world—including North and South America, Australia, Africa, and south and south-east Asia—is still living in the wake of the great thrust of European civilization to every corner of the world during the period from the 15th to the 19th centuries. While the political force of European expansion is now largely spent, its linguistic power is still felt in the rest of the world, even in the areas which have explicitly rejected the influence of the former imperial powers.

Patterns of
language contact

24. If we look more closely at the linguistic implications of European expansion, we may discern three main patterns of language contact. European languages became dominant where European penetration encountered under-developed tribal societies and correspondingly unsophisticated, unwritten, or highly diversified tribal languages. In such cases, the colonial languages, or modifications of them, easily became the sole languages of public affairs, and as such were indispensable to the new régimes, even after colonialism gave way to independence. English, French, and Portuguese thus became official languages in practically the whole of Africa south of the Sahara.

25. In these countries the European language has been linked in some fashion with one or more indigenous or local ones, so that the foreign language is designated as official in the country's constitution. This is the formula in a number of former colonies of Britain, Belgium, and France.

26. In countries where the indigenous languages were already sophisticated and backed by a rich written tradition, there developed a second type of language contact. When the colonial powers withdrew, these countries generally kept, as an administrative language, that of the former power and often linked one or several of the indigenous languages with it.

27. In some parts of the world, Western European powers established colonies through substantial settlement, with the result that the colonial languages quickly became dominant in the area, though seldom to the complete exclusion of the indigenous languages. This process is seen in the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, and Africa. More than one colonial power and more than one language were involved in some areas, such as South Africa. Of the six involved in the settlement of the United States, the Dutch, Swedish, and Russian languages scarcely took root, and French and Spanish ceded to the dominance of English. Indeed the Western European traditions and institutions brought by the settlers strongly predisposed them toward unilingual political organization, except in the relatively few cases where another European language or a strong indigenous language forced a compromise solution.

28. The movement of peoples, especially since the industrial revolution, has brought another form of language contact, that between the languages of the new immigrants and those of the host countries to which they migrate. Immigrant languages have in fact played some role in the history of virtually every western country. Their interrelationship with the language of the host country has given rise to a rich range of cultural contacts which is now becoming a topic for intensive social research.

29. Of the many situations of language contact, only a certain number have resulted in the creation of bilingual states. The bilingual state as such is a solution which has often followed a demographic regrouping as the result of war, revolution, or federation. In most cases, under conditions of modern communication, it requires that the authorities establish a linguistic policy, even if it be one which reduces to a minimum or rules out a vigorous role for the public authorities in language matters. Failing some definite official protection, the linguistic integrity of the smaller group almost inevitably suffers.

National
language policies

30. It is of course undeniable that many states, particularly ones moulded in the Western European tradition, have striven to minimize differences by promoting a unilingual society. This was the case, for example, at one time or another in France, Great Britain, Germany, and Russia. The basic idea was that if people speaking the same language could not be of the same state, people of the same state should speak the same language. Language uniformity was seen as a symbol of political unity.

Unilingual states

31. Within those areas where language boundaries and political boundaries have coincided, groups speaking languages other than that of their unilingual state have usually played a relatively small part in the national tradition, and have often been dismissed as insignificant. Their power of survival has depended to a great extent on their

numbers, distribution, status, or degree of bilingualism, and on the usefulness of their languages. Some have disappeared in a matter of generations. Others have been maintained for centuries, even in the strongest unilingual countries, such as France (the Bretons), Spain (the Basques), Great Britain (the Welsh), and Japan (the Ainus). Other minorities, after a long struggle for linguistic self-determination, have succeeded in having their language develop into a national tongue—for example, Magyar, Czech, and Croatian.

Characteristics
of bilingual states

32. Bilingual states were most often developed to maintain or preserve the cultures and languages of their surviving national groups. In bilingual states there are usually two or more unilingual nuclei—that is, two or more groups of persons who habitually live and work in one language, resorting to the other language only to communicate with fellow citizens of that language. These unilingual nuclei form the great mass of the population of bilingual states; they are the centres around which each of the major language groups tends to cluster.

33. The bilingual state is not intended as an instrument for the propagation of individual bilingualism. For if everyone in a bilingual state becomes completely bilingual, one of the languages is rendered superfluous, since everyone will be able to communicate in the other language. In all such cases, the dominant language usually grows more dominant and the other gradually disappears, sometimes in a matter of generations. This has been the fate of many minority languages, such as those of the immigrant minorities of the New World.

Bilingual
institutions

34. The bilingual state is characterized by a wide variety of bilingual institutions, designed to guarantee that citizens are not disadvantaged because they belong to a minority linguistic group. Such institutions may include the legislature, the courts, the civil service, and the schools; but these institutions can have many different forms in different bilingual countries. A bilingual public service, for example, usually means one that can serve the public in any of the official languages. But, depending on circumstances, the extent that it does so may vary from one country to another. A bilingual public service may work in the official languages either permanently or intermittently and either nationally or regionally, depending on the type of bilingual state.

Types of
bilingual states

35. Apart from the countries emerging from a former colonial status which have designated a foreign tongue as an official language, or as an auxiliary language, it is possible to discern two broad categories of bilingual states. One type provides special language rights for its national minorities; a second type attempts to place two or more national languages on a relatively equal footing before the law. In practice one finds a few borderline cases which are difficult to classify one way or the other.

36. The first kind makes special linguistic provisions to suit the plurality of its cultural groups, but on something less than a basis of full equality. Because of population proportions, different stages of group development, or other reasons, one language becomes dominant in politics and the central administration. Such arrangements may be permanent, or at least of long duration, because they coincide with the distribution of distinct cultural groups within the state. Sometimes the cultural groups concerned are given, as a minority, a whole series of special rights. At other times their rights are limited to the realms of culture and education. But the important thing is that in these states, the minority cultural groups are recognized as having different aspirations from the rest of the population, and the way is left open to them to find at least some expression of these different aims.

Special language
rights

37. There is a great variety of such bilingual states. Indeed if the definition of a bilingual state were extended to include every kind of linguistic or cultural privilege, the list would be very long. To illustrate the range of countries involved, one need only mention the position of Welsh in the United Kingdom, of Romanche in Switzerland, Maori in New Zealand, Arabic in Israel, German in Belgium and Denmark, of the regional languages in India, or of any of the minority languages in most of the countries of Central Europe, the Balkans, and the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R., indeed, is rather a borderline example of this type. Its territory is divided into 15 republics, each substantially inhabited by a major national group having a wide measure of cultural and linguistic autonomy guaranteed by the constitution. Even the many smaller linguistic groups in the U.S.S.R. frequently have an equal degree of educational and cultural self-determination within small political subdivisions. Russian, however, is the recognized *lingua franca* of the Soviet Union and is the language of the central administration; it is also the mother tongue of over half the population, the remainder being divided among a large number of other languages.

38. The second, smaller category gives official status to two or more national languages on a basis approaching equality. Whether or not the respective cultural groups are balanced numerically, these countries have tried to provide for the exercise of public functions in each of the official languages, either in certain regions or throughout the country. Thus Belgium has made French and Dutch equally official languages, Finland has done so for Finnish and Swedish, and Czechoslovakia for Czech and Slovak. Switzerland has three official languages—German, French, and Italian—while a fourth language, Romanche, has been accorded the status of a national but not an official language. Yugoslavia has three official languages—Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian—but also grants special regional status to nine others.

Relative equality

Implications of
language equality

South Africa provides full rights for Afrikaans and English as official languages everywhere in the country.

39. In countries where two or more languages are given equal status and are official, the concept of the state as a partnership of two or more language groups can regulate relations between them. This has certain important implications. If there is a difference in numerical strength between the two language groups, the handicaps implicit in such a disparity must be overcome. The majority must realize that the minority, though fellow-citizens, do not share all their characteristics, and both sides must show respect for each other. The majority whose language is not in danger has nothing to lose and much to gain by contributing to the support of bilingualism in proportion to its superior numbers. This often lessens the penetration of the majority language into the daily lives of the minority. Mutual interest in each other and the sharing of experiences that can be shared will ensure that the linguistic groups, while remaining separate, will have a unity of purpose.

40. Whenever a bilingual state preserves the integrity of its language groups, the tensions that might arise are neutralized to the extent that each of the groups within the state has a sense of cultural security. When a country fails to provide this sense of cultural security, the minority, seeing its language threatened, often tends to harbour feelings of hostility toward the majority and to look for other solutions, including various forms of "national" self-determination outside the framework of the bilingual state.

41. To guarantee survival and equality for the minority language may thus become one of the duties of the majority. And this normally requires various moves on the part of the majority: a) respecting the minority language by accepting communications in it and by taking care that the use of this language, especially in official documents, is of a quality that does not offend the sensibilities of the minority; b) accepting part of the cost of bilingualism proportionate to its numbers; and c) allowing the minority a certain amount of linguistic self-determination necessary to the preservation of its language. All this is basically a question of attitudes and understanding on the part of the majority. But the minority also has certain duties, mainly to participate in the national or federal government of the country and to agree to work with the majority group.

42. The extent of the guarantees given by the majority group will depend on the particular circumstances of the minority group, and on its will to live. The more vulnerable the minority language and the weaker the minority group compared with the majority, the greater are likely to be the guarantees given to them. In Switzerland, for example, where the French-speaking population is geographically in contact with

that of France, the nature of the guarantees required from the majority group do not resemble those called for where the minority is in a less fortunate position or is isolated. The latter situation may well apply to Canada.

C. Canada: A Unique Bilingual State

43. What makes Canada unique as a bilingual state is that her two official languages are English and French. Compared to other bilingual states—among them Finland, South Africa, and Belgium, which we shall discuss later—Canada is fortunate that her official languages both have international status. English is today the mother tongue of more than 250,000,000 people. To this figure should be added some 200,000,000 who speak English as their second language or who have a good working knowledge of it. French, for its part, is the mother tongue of around 65,000,000 people and is constantly used by another 150,000,000 throughout the world. These two languages thus have world-wide prestige.

44. In Canada, however, one of the two language groups begins with a considerable advantage. As the national language of the United States, one of the most powerful countries of the world, English has a massive preponderance in North America. Thus the English-language group in this country draws much of its strength from the English-speaking population of our neighbour. The French-language group is, on the other hand, a minority on the North American continent and suffers from its isolation not only from France but from the other French-speaking peoples of the world.

45. Only in Quebec does French occupy a position of strength. As the language of the majority, French has established itself in most of the institutions of the province and has developed a culture unique in North America. Because of the roots it has taken in Quebec the French language is the cornerstone of the cultural duality of Canada. English is also a language of Quebec; it is the natural form of expression for a minority linked both to the English-speaking majority in Canada and to the English-language mass on the North American continent. This is without doubt an advantage. Inasmuch as it is necessary to know the language of countries and groups with which one deals, beginning with one's neighbours, the minority in Quebec is a potential bridge with the English-speaking world. English, then, could perform for the French-speaking majority in Quebec the same function as could French for the English-language majority in Canada.

46. Seen in the Canadian context, French is the language of a minority, but of a much more important minority than when viewed

from a continental standpoint. In a continent without national boundaries French would be no more than the language of one minority among many; in Canada the French-speaking minority was co-founder of Confederation, within which its language has acquired certain formal rights and has, since 1867, shown undeniable vigour, expanding with a country which in a hundred years has taken the proportions of a continent. The French language is at once an essential mark of the Canadian identity and the foremost point of distinction between this country and the United States.

47. All these factors—the world-wide prestige and influence of English and French, the isolation and the minority situation of the French-speaking community in North America, the deep roots of the French language in Quebec and in Canada—make Canada a bilingual state of a unique kind. The two languages and the two communities which speak them coexist in this country under conditions duplicated nowhere else. To understand fully the present state of bilingualism in Canada we shall turn in the next chapter to a closer examination of the composition and distribution of the two principal language groups throughout the country.

48. Two principal factors largely determine the linguistic composition of the Canadian population. First, people of different origins, in addition to the French and British, have immigrated to Canada. Second, most of these people or their descendants have progressively and in varying degrees adopted one of the country's two main languages and have been integrated to the official-language group of their choice. To understand the linguistic make-up of the population of Canada we shall have to ask two essential questions: What are the ethnic origins of the various components of the country's population? To what extent do they keep their original languages, and what choices do they make about the two official languages?

49. To deal with these questions we should first know which language each Canadian habitually uses. Unfortunately, this information is not available from the census data: the only two questions relating to language have to do with mother tongue and the official language or languages known.

Census data

50. The question concerning the official languages ("Do you speak English? French?") tells us the number of persons who describe themselves as bilingual or unilingual in relation to the official languages. But each person is his own judge as to his ability to speak English or French. Besides, the person who describes himself as knowing English, for example, may be a recent immigrant who has difficulty expressing himself in English, as well as a Canadian of non-British origin who is nevertheless completely Anglicized. Finally, this category does not tell us the first language of bilingual persons.

51. The mother-tongue criterion sheds some light on the number of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. But the information is incomplete. In answering the question on mother tongue ("What is the first language you learned in childhood and which you still

understand?"), German or Swedish immigrants, for example, would have to reply their whole lives long that German or Swedish is their mother tongue, even if they presently speak English almost exclusively. The same may be true for Canadians whose parents are of an ethnic origin other than French or English, and even for Canadians whose mother tongue is French. In such cases—and we know they are numerous—the information concerning the mother tongue of the individual does not tell us which language he most commonly uses. The information is a generation behind the facts.

52. Despite our reservations, we do not take issue with either of the two questions concerning language or with the one concerning ethnic origin.¹ Each has its own particular usefulness and, taken together, they permit us to follow, to some extent, the evolution of groups who participated in the founding and development of Canada. We do not suggest that these questions be removed; rather we suggest adding another one. This question would deal precisely with the main language of each Canadian, and would enable us to tell which language he speaks most often at home and at work. This information would then provide the basis for more complete studies in the future.

53. Meanwhile, we must use the instruments at hand, that is, the "mother-tongue" category and the "official-languages" category. We do so in full awareness of their deficiencies. We will use especially the question concerning mother tongue, because it best determines the linguistic group to which the individual belongs.² But as the occasion warrants, we may balance the data thus obtained by the more flexible data furnished by the "official-languages" category.

54. Obviously, in both cases we are dealing with quantitative measures; we are not making value judgements. Although the quality of the languages spoken in Canada is most important, adequate research into that problem would have been so lengthy and costly that it was completely out of the question.

A. Ethnic Origin of the Canadian Population

55. We may begin by examining "ethnic origin" by reference to the census question: "To what ethnic or cultural group³ did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?"

¹ The main reason for criticism of the "ethnic-origin" category is that it takes into account only one ancestor (the paternal ancestor) rather than two, four, eight, or sixteen.

² Wherever relevant, our recommendations have to be based on the statistics for mother tongue. If a question on the language generally used is added to the census—and if the data gained from the responses to this question are considered valid—we think this should be used as a basis for future calculations.

³ The answer to this question is given by country in most cases.

56. For all practical purposes, the Canadian population at the time of Confederation was composed of two main groups, the British and the French. Since 1867, however, the continual increase of heterogeneity in the population has been most remarkable. First of all the relative size of the population of British origin has decreased (from 59 per cent¹ in 1881 to 44 per cent in 1961), and even this, for statistical purposes, is often said to comprise various ethnic groups. On the other hand, the proportion of the French community has remained at the same level (30 per cent in 1881 and 1961). Finally there was the appearance and then the constant growth of the proportion of people of non-British, non-French extraction (from 11 per cent in 1881 to 26 per cent in 1961). The result has been as though, for every 100 Canadians, 15 of the 59 of British extraction present in 1881 had been replaced in 1961 by 3 Ukrainians, 2 Poles, 2 Italians, 2 Scandinavians, 1 Dutchman, 1 Jew, and 4 people of various origins (Austrian, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, and so on), while the 30 French and the 6 Germans remained.² The country's two principal communities, which accounted for about 90 per cent of the Canadian population in 1867, have since declined in relative importance—because of the decrease of the British-origin group—to only 74 per cent of the population in 1961 (Table 1B). Immigration from continental Europe certainly appears to be the principal reason for this growing diversity, but other factors such as emigration from Canada to the United States and the unequal birth-rate of Canada's various ethnic groups were also involved.

57. As Tables 1A and 1B show, those of British origin formed a strong majority until the end of World War I: 55 per cent or more until 1921, the census year nearest to this period. Thereafter, the British element diminished by approximately 3 per cent every ten years. It went from 55 per cent in 1921 to 52 per cent in 1931, 50 per cent in 1941 and finally to 48 per cent and 44 per cent in 1951 and 1961 respectively. This decrease is mainly explained by a relatively small natural growth and heavy emigration to the United States. However, it is also attributable to a reduction in the proportion of British immigrants.

58. Whereas, before 1921, the British made up more than half of the immigrants, they comprised less than 30 per cent between 1951 and 1961. If this tendency to relative decline should become a settled pattern, persons of British origin would account for less than a third of the Canadian population by the end of the century.

59. The proportion of the population which is of French origin has remained roughly the same up to the present. As a matter of fact, its

Ethnic composition since 1867

British decline

French stability

¹ Throughout the text, percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

² The Germans were the only other ethnic group in Canada whose percentage of the total population was almost the same in 1881 as in 1961 (5.9 and 5.8 per cent respectively).

Table 1A. Canadian Population by Ethnic Origin, 1881 to 1961¹

Ethnic origin	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Canada ²	4,324,810	5,371,315	7,206,643	8,787,949	10,376,786	11,506,655	14,009,429	18,238,247
British	2,548,514	3,063,195	3,999,081	4,868,738	5,381,071	5,715,904	6,709,685	7,996,669
French	1,298,929	1,649,371	2,061,719	2,452,743	2,927,990	3,483,038	4,319,167	5,540,346
German	254,319	310,501	403,417	294,635	473,544	464,682	619,995	1,049,599
Italian	1,849	10,834	45,963	66,769	98,173	112,625	152,245	450,351
Jewish	667	16,131	76,199	126,196	156,726	170,241	181,670	173,344
Dutch	30,412	33,845	55,961	117,505	148,962	212,863	264,267	429,679
Polish	—	6,285	33,652	53,403	145,503	167,485	219,845	323,517
Scandinavian	5,223	31,042	112,682	167,359	228,049	244,603	283,024	386,534
Ukrainian	—	5,682	75,432	106,721	225,113	305,929	395,043	473,337
Indian and Eskimo	108,547	127,941	105,611	113,724	128,890	125,521	165,607	220,121
Others and not stated	76,350	116,488	236,926	420,156	462,765	503,764	698,881	1,194,750

Source: Censuses of Canada

¹ 1891 omitted—insufficient data. Data for 1881 are also incomplete, particularly in treatment of small numbers of immigrants from Central Europe.

² Newfoundland excluded up to 1951.

Table 1B. Canadian Population by Ethnic Origin, 1881 to 1961 (Percentages)¹

Ethnic origin	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Canada ²	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
British	58.9	57.0	55.5	55.4	51.9	49.7	47.9	43.8
French	30.0	30.7	28.6	27.9	28.2	30.3	30.8	30.4
German	5.9	5.8	5.6	3.4	4.6	4.0	4.4	5.8
Italian	—	0.2	0.6	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.1	2.5
Jewish	—	0.3	1.1	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.0
Dutch	0.7	0.6	0.8	1.3	1.4	1.8	1.9	2.4
Polish	—	0.1	0.5	0.6	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.8
Scandinavian	0.1	0.6	1.6	1.9	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.1
Ukrainian	—	0.1	1.0	1.2	2.2	2.7	2.8	2.6
Indian and Eskimo	2.5	2.4	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.2
Others and not stated	1.9	2.2	3.2	4.8	4.5	4.3	5.0	6.4

Source: Censuses of Canada

¹ 1891 omitted—insufficient data. Data for 1881 are also incomplete, particularly in treatment of small numbers of immigrants from Central Europe.² Newfoundland excluded up to 1951.

main characteristic is its slight variation in relative numbers for more than a century. As Table 1B shows, it has never fallen below 28 per cent of the whole population and in 1961 was at the same level as at the beginning of the century—about 30 per cent. Because it has benefited very little from immigration and has lost a significant number of its members to the United States, the French Canadian community must owe its sustained relative size to a higher rate of natural growth than those of other ethnic groups in Canada. However, since the birth-rate of French Canadians both in and outside Quebec tends to approach that of the rest of the Canadian population, a reduction in the relative size of the group of French origin can reasonably be expected within a relatively short time, other things being equal.

The other groups
on the increase

60. In both absolute figures and percentages, the part of the population neither British nor French in origin has continued to increase. While the total Canadian population more than quadrupled between 1881 and 1961, the number of people of other extractions multiplied tenfold. During the decade before the 1961 census, their numbers increased by 1,700,000, while people of British origin increased by 1,300,000 and those of French origin by 1,200,000. The percentage of those of other origins increased from 11 in 1881 to 26 in 1961. If immigration and emigration continue in the patterns that have prevailed in Canada since World War I, it is possible that the total number of people of other ethnic origins could in the not-distant future surpass both the number of those of French origin and those of British origin.

B. Language Choice in Canada

61. Since we do not know the principal language—the most used or the most familiar language—of each person living in Canada, we shall try to measure the phenomenon of language choice in this country—and consequently the degree of linguistic assimilation of Canadians of different ethnic origins—through the mother-tongue criterion.

Immigrants opt
for English

62. The first thing to note is the increasing homogeneity of the Canadian population according to mother tongue in spite of increasing heterogeneity according to ethnic origin. The situation can be roughly summarized: those of British origin generally speak English; 9 out of 10 people of French origin retain French as their mother tongue; those of other origins tend progressively to adopt English, except in Quebec where the situation is more complex. In fact, about one out of six Canadians no longer speaks the language of his forbears. Of those who changed languages, 93 per cent are English-speaking today. The tendency towards English is so strong that 25 per cent of those who now

claim it as their mother tongue—2,775,000 people—can be considered “immigrants to English” or, as it is popularly called, “Anglicized.” Table 2 gives the percentage distribution according to mother tongue of Canadians of different ethnic origins.

Table 2. Percentage Distribution by Mother Tongue of the Canadian Population, by Ethnic Origin, 1961

Ethnic origin	Mother tongue				Total
	English	French	Corre- sponding to ethnic group	Other	
British	98.6	1.0	0.1 ¹	0.3	100.0
French	10.0	89.6	—	0.4	100.0
German	59.0	0.8	39.4	0.8	100.0
Italian	22.2	3.7	73.6	0.5	100.0
Jewish	57.9	1.3	33.6	7.3	100.0
Dutch	51.8	0.3	37.6	10.3	100.0
Polish	40.4	0.9	45.5	13.2	100.0
Scandinavian	69.7	0.6	28.8	0.9	100.0
Ukrainian	33.9	0.3	64.4	1.4	100.0
Indian and Eskimo	26.7	1.7	71.4	0.2	100.0
Others and not stated	51.0	2.7	27.4	18.8	100.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1961

¹ Considered of British origin (from the British Isles) are some persons whose mother tongue is other than English— for example, Welsh.

63. There are fairly large variations in degree of assimilation of ethnic groups to the English language: for example, 70 per cent of persons of Scandinavian origin now call English their mother tongue, compared with 22 per cent in the case of Italian. These differences relate to a large number of factors, of which numbers, place, and time of settlement in Canada are among the most important. The low degree of linguistic assimilation of Italians appears to be explained by the time and place of settlement. Other factors are present to various degrees, particularly urban traditions (Jews), group solidarity (Jews, Ukrainians), cultural and religious affinities with the British group (Germans, Scandinavians), and the province of residence (French).

Assimilation
to French

64. The assimilating power of the French language in Canada is less; still, it does exist and must be taken into account. It is demonstrated by the nearly 4 per cent of Canadians of Italian origin whose mother tongue was French in 1961. In total there were then 158,000 Canadians of French mother tongue who were of non-French origin. After English, and far behind it, French is the only language to which newcomers assimilate in this country, and this happens mainly in Quebec, as we shall see later.

65. At the same time, French-speaking Canadians exhibit a powerful will to exist as a group. This becomes very evident when French Canada is considered in its various parts. In Quebec, where four-fifths of their numbers were to be found in 1961, the group of French mother tongue has remained intact. Moreover, in the regions adjacent to Quebec—northern and northeastern Ontario and northern and eastern New Brunswick—the French-speaking minorities have retained great vitality. In these areas, which include more than half the citizens of French mother tongue living outside Quebec, assimilation to English does not occur or is less strong than in the rest of Canada although socio-economic and educational institutions hardly favour living in French. The situation of the French-speaking minorities is much less secure in the other regions of Canada, where assimilation is much more prevalent.

The main trends

66. There is one notable feature of the Canadian situation as a whole: the steadily increasing transfer to English through the years. Each successive census shows an increase, often substantial, in the proportion of individuals of most ethnic origins who give English as their mother tongue. (See Table 3.) A striking example is that of the Jewish group: in 1931, just over 2 per cent of the group gave English as their mother tongue; in 1941, 19 per cent; in 1951, 43 per cent; in 1961, 58 per cent. In 1931 just over 2 per cent of Canadians of Ukrainian origin gave English as their mother tongue; in 1961 the percentage was 34. Among those of Polish origin the percentages were 7 in 1931 and 40 in 1961. The percentage of those of Italian origin who gave English as their mother tongue was considerably lower—22 per cent in 1961. This lower percentage undoubtedly reflects the fact that some have adopted French as their principal Canadian language, and also the large Italian immigration of recent years. This factor of immigration is extremely significant and makes several of the percentages in Table 3 ambiguous. Although 65 per cent of Canadians of Dutch origin had assimilated to English by 1931 and only 52 per cent in 1961, the reason is certainly not that there are today less strong forces prompting assimilation to English; the figures result from a large wave of Dutch immigration since the war. The same is true, to a lesser extent, for Canadians of various origins

Table 3. Percentage Distribution of the Canadian Population of English Mother Tongue, by Ethnic Origin, 1931 to 1961¹

Ethnic origin	1931	1941	1951	1961
British	98.6	98.3	98.7	98.6
French	4.7	5.8	7.9	10.0
German	42.6	45.3	58.2	59.0
Italian	10.5	23.7	34.3	22.2
Jewish	2.3	19.2	42.7	57.9
Dutch	64.9	61.4	57.1	51.8
Polish	6.8	14.5	28.7	40.3
Scandinavian	30.6	41.8	62.7	69.7
Ukrainian	2.4	5.1	18.6	33.9
Indian and Eskimo	—	8.1	15.4	26.7
Others and not stated	—	—	—	51.0

Source: Censuses of Canada.
¹ Newfoundland excluded up to 1951.

who have increased their representation through immigration over the last 20 years.

67. The French mother-tongue group stands out from all the other non-British groups by its low level of assimilation. This is true when it is considered as a whole, for the rate of assimilation varies according to the location and the numerical importance of the French-speaking population.

68. In most other cases linguistic assimilation is almost inevitable and necessarily cumulative. Reckoning from current trends, it is quite possible that, by 1981, 80 per cent or more of all Canadians of non-French origin, except perhaps those of Italian extraction as well as the most recent immigrants, will have English as their mother tongue. Outside Quebec and adjacent regions, where the environment acts as a brake, marriages between Anglophones and those of another language usually lead to the choice of Canada's predominant language, English, for the children. Such "mixed" marriages thus intensify the preponderance of English.

C. Population Distribution by Mother Tongue¹

69. Canada's two main linguistic groups in 1961 were those of English (58 per cent) and French (28 per cent) mother tongues (Table 4). Three other mother-tongue groups among the remaining 14

¹ See Map 1.

per cent of the population were significant: German (3 per cent), Ukrainian (2 per cent), and Italian (2 per cent). Then came the Dutch, Indian and Eskimo, Polish, and Scandinavian groups. The predominance of the English mother-tongue group has been strengthened by the growing tendency of immigrants to adopt that language. During the decade from 1951 to 1961, the proportion of those of English mother tongue increased despite the relatively heavy immigration of at least 11 groups of various ethnic origins.

Table 4. Totals and Proportions of Canadian Language Groups by Mother Tongue, 1961

Mother tongue	Totals	Percentage of population
Canada	18,238,247	100.0
English	10,660,534	58.5
French	5,123,151	28.1
German	563,713	3.1
Italian	339,626	1.9
Dutch	170,177	0.9
Polish	161,720	0.9
Scandinavian	116,714	0.6
Ukrainian	361,496	2.0
Yiddish	82,448	0.5
Indian and Eskimo	166,531	0.9
Others	492,137	2.6

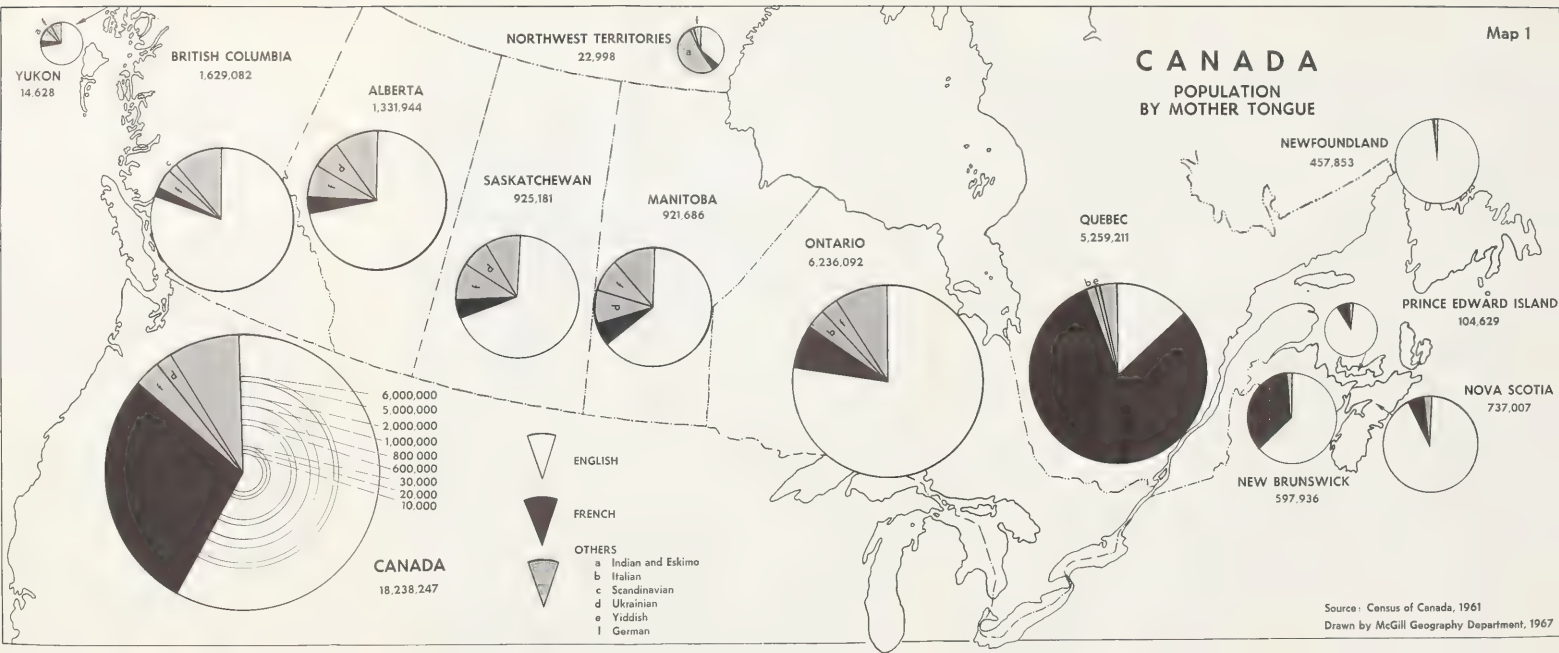
Source: Census of Canada, 1961

70. This trend towards the English language perceptibly enlarges the proportion of those of English mother tongue beyond the percentage of persons of British origin: in 1961, 58 per cent against 44 per cent. Since there is no reason to believe that the pull of English will lessen among those of non-French extraction, the percentage of Canadians of English mother tongue can be expected to increase in the future, at least outside Quebec.

71. The vitality of the French-speaking community in Quebec and neighbouring regions has made it possible for French-speaking Canadians as a whole to maintain a remarkable stability. From 1931 to 1961,

CANADA

POPULATION BY MOTHER TONGUE



Source: Census of Canada, 1961

Drawn by McGill Geography Department, 1967

Table 5A. Distribution of the Population by Mother Tongue, Canada and Provinces, 1961

Province or territory	Mother tongue										
	English	French	German	Italian	Dutch	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Yiddish	Indian and Eskimo	Others and not stated
Canada	10,660,534	5,123,151	563,713	339,626	170,177	161,720	116,714	361,496	82,448	166,531	492,137
Newfoundland	451,530	3,150	616	131	173	125	156	158	69	1,176	569
Prince Edward Island	95,564	7,958	126	43	401	46	74	92	21	111	193
Nova Scotia	680,233	39,568	1,523	1,119	2,441	1,053	827	941	488	2,335	6,479
New Brunswick	378,633	210,530	1,162	547	1,063	310	979	414	378	2,572	1,348
Quebec	697,402	4,269,689	31,589	89,806	6,059	19,827	3,477	13,424	35,845	16,518	75,575
Ontario	4,834,623	425,302	183,789	207,937	90,051	83,214	20,931	89,766	32,452	26,754	241,273
Manitoba	584,526	60,899	83,994	4,362	13,363	20,652	12,631	85,173	9,057	27,571	19,458
Saskatchewan	638,156	36,163	89,650	1,369	8,054	10,585	19,511	67,087	898	25,932	27,776
Alberta	962,319	42,276	97,666	9,881	24,640	16,755	25,603	83,923	1,764	27,928	39,189
British Columbia	1,318,498	26,179	72,473	24,168	23,793	8,978	32,079	20,101	1,459	21,894	79,460
Yukon and N.W.T.	19,050	1,437	1,125	263	139	175	446	417	17	13,740	817

Source: Census of Canada, 1961

Table 5B. Distribution of the Population by Mother Tongue, Canada and Provinces, 1961 (Percentages)

Province or territory	Mother tongue										
	English	French	German	Italian	Dutch	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Yiddish	Indian and Eskimo	Others and not stated
Canada	58.5	28.1	3.1	1.9	0.9	0.9	0.6	2.0	0.5	0.9	2.6
Newfoundland	98.6	0.7	0.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.3	0.3
Prince Edward Island	91.3	7.6	0.1	—	0.4	—	0.1	0.1	—	0.1	0.3
Nova Scotia	92.3	5.4	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.9
New Brunswick	63.3	35.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.1
Quebec	13.3	81.2	0.6	1.7	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.7	0.3	1.3
Ontario	77.5	6.8	2.9	3.3	1.4	1.3	0.3	1.4	0.5	0.4	4.2
Manitoba	63.4	6.6	9.1	0.5	1.4	2.2	1.4	9.2	1.0	3.0	2.2
Saskatchewan	69.0	3.9	9.7	0.1	1.9	1.1	2.1	7.3	0.1	2.8	3.0
Alberta	72.2	3.2	7.3	0.7	1.8	1.3	1.9	6.3	0.1	2.1	3.1
British Columbia	80.9	1.6	4.4	1.5	1.5	0.6	2.0	1.2	0.1	1.3	4.9
Yukon and N.W.T.	50.6	3.8	3.0	0.7	0.4	0.5	1.2	1.1	—	36.5	2.2

Source: Census of Canada, 1961

cent. Three other smaller language groups in the province—those of Hungarian, Yiddish, and Finnish mother tongue—each have more than 30,000 members.

The western
provinces

77. In the four western provinces, the proportion of people of English mother tongue increases from 63 to 81 per cent as we approach the Pacific coast, while that of the French mother-tongue group decreases, from 7 to 2 per cent. There are, in fact, more people of German and Ukrainian mother tongue than of French in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. In British Columbia there are more people of German and Scandinavian mother tongue than of French. In 1961, in these four provinces, the number whose mother tongue was French ranged between 26,000 and 61,000. The number of Scandinavian mother tongue ranged from 12,000 to 32,000. The number retaining German as their mother tongue ran from 72,000 in British Columbia to 98,000 in Alberta. Finally, those of Ukrainian mother tongue were strongly represented in the Prairie Provinces: Saskatchewan, 67,000; Alberta, 84,000; and Manitoba, 85,000.

Linguistic
groupings

78. It should be noted that some minorities are no longer substantially supported by immigration and their proportions are diminishing—particularly the Scandinavian, Ukrainian, and Yiddish mother-tongue groups. Even in real numbers, two of these minorities have declined in significance between 1951 and 1961. The Yiddish group has sharply declined just as much in Canada as a whole as in the two provinces where the Jews are mainly concentrated. Numbers reporting Ukrainian as their mother tongue have equally decreased in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

79. Persons of French mother tongue in Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan were fewer in 1961 than in 1951, but this did not change the general picture since 95 per cent of Canadians of French mother tongue live in Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick. Although they are not the largest minority in the four western provinces, they remain the only minority present in appreciable numbers in every province of Canada.

80. As for the English mother-tongue group, it predominates in Canada as much in real numbers as in proportion of the population.

81. This was Canada's linguistic make-up in 1961, so far as the census criterion of mother tongue permits its delineation. The situation thus presented has no definitive character and remains fluid; several trends have still to be examined. The most basic is the growing predominance of the English mother-tongue group, explained by the assimilation into this group of most members of minority groups. We know that the category of mother tongue does not take this tendency into account fully, because it is incapable of recording the transition

into the English language of an individual whose mother tongue is other than English. It so happens that the numbers of immigrants temporarily reduce the proportion of the English mother-tongue group and correspondingly increase the proportions of other language groups; but this is only a transitory phenomenon. The English-speaking group is the one which will probably profit most from immigration.

E. Assimilation of Minorities in Quebec

82. Only in Quebec does the French language seem to have drawing power, but even in this province English attracts more newcomers. Of 100 persons of neither French nor British origin, 26 count English and 11 French as their mother tongue. The remaining 63 have some other mother tongue—probably because some have only recently arrived in Canada.

83. As shown in Table 6, it is only among Canadians of Italian origin that one finds twice as many assimilated to French as to English. This fact is important because the Italians constitute the largest minority next to the British. Among the Indians and the Eskimos, as well as those designated by the census as "other Europeans," French and English exert an approximately equal influence. But for the Germans, French has less influence and for the Scandinavians still less. For the remainder, assimilation to English constantly increases and ultimately is overwhelming: for example, 55 per cent of the Jews assimilate to English, as opposed to 2 per cent to French. It may be worth noting that Canadians of British origin have assimilated to French in Quebec in about the same proportion as Canadians of French origin have assimilated to English throughout the country (respectively 9 and 10 per cent¹).

84. The great majority of Quebec residents of other origins live in Montreal. And Montreal, as an industrial and commercial metropolis, is, for socio-economic and cultural reasons that we shall examine in a subsequent Book, strongly subjected to the influence of the English language. This fact helps to explain why the continuation of the assimilative force of the French language is somewhat problematical there in the immediate future.

Montreal: a
special case

85. The absolute number of people of French mother tongue continues to increase while their proportion (now 81 per cent of the population of the province) remains nearly constant. Furthermore,

¹ It should be noted that the number of Quebec residents of French origin who have assimilated to English is slightly greater than the number of Quebec residents of British origin who have assimilated to French: 68,000 versus 53,000, according to the 1961 census.

Table 6. Quebec Population of English and French Mother Tongue, by Ethnic Origin, 1961

Ethnic origin	Total	Mother tongue			
		English		French	
		Total	%	Total	%
Quebec	5,259,211	697,402	13.3	4,269,689	81.2
French	4,241,354	68,339	1.6	4,164,880	98.2
British	567,057	511,293	90.2	53,383	9.4
German	39,457	10,179	25.8	5,988	15.2
Italian	108,552	6,387	5.9	14,762	13.6
Jewish	74,677	40,904	54.8	1,773	2.4
Dutch	10,442	4,149	39.7	685	6.6
Polish	30,790	7,555	24.5	1,945	6.3
Scandinavian	11,295	6,425	56.9	1,728	15.3
Ukrainian	16,588	3,527	21.3	939	5.7
Indian and Eskimo	21,343	2,388	11.2	2,632	12.3
Russian	13,694	6,725	49.1	554	4.0
Other European	96,112	16,194	16.8	15,168	15.8
Asiatic	14,801	3,621	24.5	2,413	16.3
Others and not stated	13,049	9,716	74.5	2,839	21.8

Source: Census of Canada, 1961

Quebec is the only province where the number of residents of French mother tongue is slightly higher than the number of Canadians of French ethnic origin.

F. Regions of Concentration of Official-Language Minorities

86. Anglicization of those of French mother tongue is negligible in Quebec, little to be found in New Brunswick, and strongest in Ontario; yet in Ontario the situation varies greatly from one region to another. On the other hand, such assimilation is more rapid in all the other provinces. Table 7 shows that, as a general rule, the further a community of French origin is from Quebec, the higher the rate of assimilation and, as a corollary, the larger the group, the lower the rate of assimilation.

87. Nevertheless, a close look at regions within provinces rather than at the provinces themselves shows us that communities of French

Table 7. Population of French Ethnic Origin whose Mother Tongue is English, Canada and Provinces, 1931 to 1961 (Percentages)

Province or territory	1931	1941	1951	1961
Canada	4.7	5.8	7.9	9.9
Newfoundland	—	—	78.0	85.2
Prince Edward Island	22.6	29.0	46.3	55.1
Nova Scotia	32.0	39.6	49.1	56.9
New Brunswick	5.0	6.5	9.0	12.1
Quebec	0.6	1.0	1.3	1.6
Ontario	22.1	25.0	31.2	37.7
Manitoba	12.1	14.5	22.4	30.3
Saskatchewan	18.9	23.4	32.6	43.2
Alberta	25.5	29.7	39.4	49.7
British Columbia	50.4	53.6	56.8	64.7
Yukon and N.W.T.	—	—	—	46.6

Source: Censuses of Canada

origin resist assimilation much better than the provincial average would indicate. Some regions of Manitoba and Nova Scotia provide typical examples, but the phenomenon is not peculiar to these provinces.

88. For Quebec’s residents of English mother tongue, just as for the French in other provinces, smallness of numbers and degree of isolation are factors in assimilation. On the whole, the minority of British origin in Quebec escapes the assimilation process, because of its concentration in the Montreal district and southeastern counties of the province.

89. This is not the place to list all the regions of Canada where residents of French mother tongue are to be found in fairly large numbers, or even to define precisely the regions we intend to discuss. We think it enough to indicate the most important concentrations outside Quebec and to measure, by a retention index,¹ their attachment or adherence to the French language.

90. First, there are regions deriving considerable importance from their extent or the number of persons of French mother tongue living there: northern and eastern New Brunswick, the Ontario counties along the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers from Pembroke to Cornwall, and northeastern Ontario. As Maps 2 and 3 show, all these regions are

Minorities of
French mother
tongue

¹ The retention index may be calculated for a given group by establishing the proportion of people of French mother tongue in relation to the total number of those of French origin.

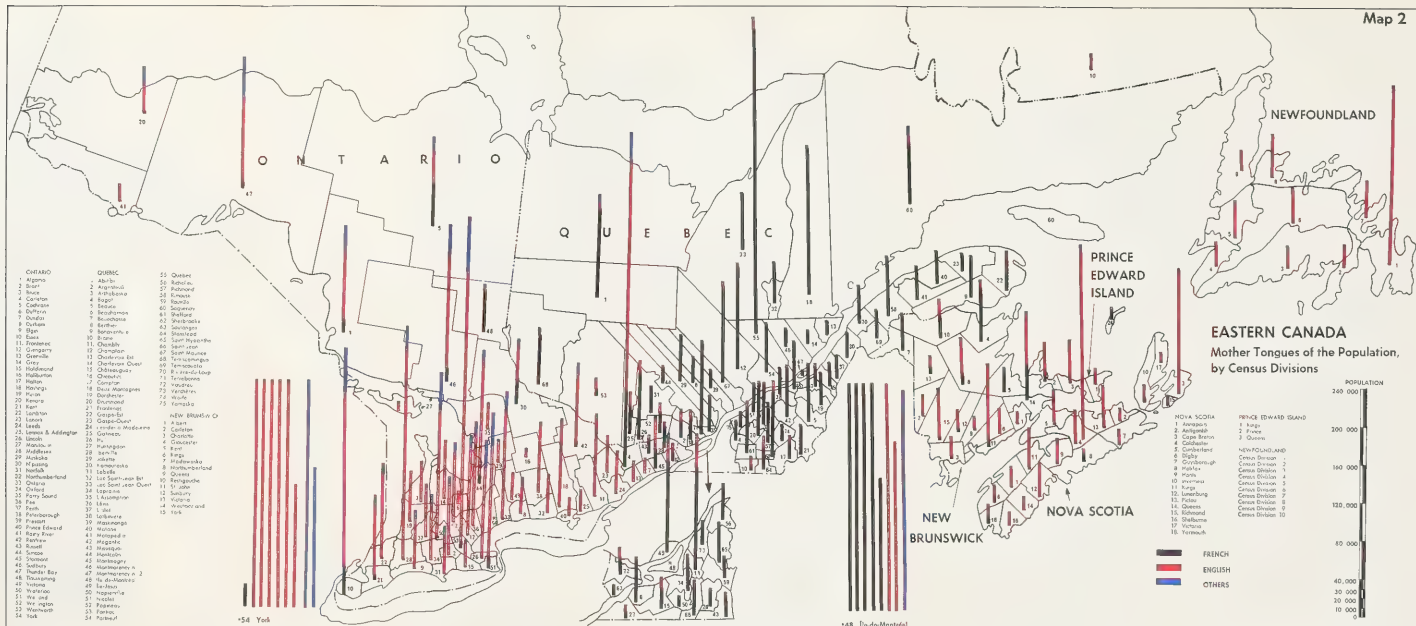
contiguous with Quebec. Next in order of numerical significance come Digby and Yarmouth counties in southwestern Nova Scotia, Inverness and Richmond counties on Cape Breton Island, N.S., Essex and Kent counties in southern Ontario and, in Manitoba, census divisions 1, 6, and 20 in the southwest of the province.¹ We will analyze the number of persons of French mother tongue, their proportionate significance and their retention index for each region.

91. *Northern and eastern New Brunswick* includes seven counties—Gloucester, Kent, Madawaska, Northumberland, Restigouche, Victoria, and Westmorland. Their total population is 336,000, of which 199,000—an average of three out of every five—inhabitants are of French mother tongue. The French-speaking community constitutes at least 80 per cent of the population in each of the three counties of Gloucester, Kent, and Madawaska, and the degree of assimilation to English is small. In fact, the difference between the number of people of French origin and the number whose mother tongue is French is only 9,000. The retention rate is thus 96 per cent.

92. *The Ottawa River—St. Lawrence region of Ontario* contains six neighbouring counties—Carleton, Glengarry, Prescott, Renfrew, Russell, and Stormont—whose French mother-tongue population of 155,000 is 27 per cent of the total population (568,000). The “French density” of each county is very unequal; for example, the French-speaking community in Renfrew constitutes only 6 per cent of the population while the French proportions in Prescott and Russell are 83 and 77 per cent respectively. The retention index of the people of French extraction in this area is 84 per cent (186,000 people of French origin and 155,000 people whose mother tongue is French). However, assimilation appears to be negligible in the counties of Prescott and Russell, where they are solidly in the majority.

93. *Northeastern Ontario*, comprising the five vast districts of Algoma, Cochrane, Nipissing, Sudbury, and Temiskaming, has a French mother-tongue population of 151,000—31 per cent of the total population (494,000). However, those of French mother tongue do not constitute a majority of the population in any one district. Except for Algoma, where the 13,200 people of French mother tongue are only 12 per cent of the population, the French percentage varies between 27 (Temiskaming) and 46 (Cochrane). The retention index of 84 per cent for northeastern Ontario (151,000 persons of French mother tongue and 180,000 people of French origin) is similar to that of the previous region. However, in Algoma the index is much lower (62 per cent).

¹ Census units are counties and districts for the five provinces which have them (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Quebec and Ontario) and artificial census divisions for the rest of Canada. See *Reference Maps* of the 1961 Census, D.B.S. Bulletin 1.1-9.



Map 3

NEWFOUNDLAND

PRINCE EDWARD
ISLAND

NOVA SCOTIA

NEW BRUNSWICK

EASTERN CANADA

Proportion of Population
of French Mother Tongue,
by Census Divisions

ONTARIO

QUEBEC

ONTARIO

- 1 Agincourt
- 2 Ancaster
- 3 Brant
- 4 Brantford
- 5 Cambridge
- 6 Chatham
- 7 Dundas
- 8 Durham
- 9 Elgin
- 10 Essex
- 11 Frontenac
- 12 Hamilton
- 13 Huron
- 14 Kent
- 15 Lambton
- 16 Lincoln
- 17 London
- 18 Middlesex
- 19 Niagara
- 20 North York
- 21 Peel
- 22 Perth
- 23 Peterborough
- 24 Port Hope
- 25 Prescott & Russell
- 26 Simcoe
- 27 St. Catharines
- 28 Sudbury
- 29 Thunder Bay
- 30 Timiskaming
- 31 Waterloo
- 32 Welland
- 33 Windsor
- 34 York

QUEBEC

- 1 Agincourt
- 2 Ancaster
- 3 Brant
- 4 Brantford
- 5 Cambridge
- 6 Chatham
- 7 Dundas
- 8 Durham
- 9 Elgin
- 10 Essex
- 11 Frontenac
- 12 Hamilton
- 13 Huron
- 14 Kent
- 15 Lambton
- 16 Lincoln
- 17 London
- 18 Middlesex
- 19 Niagara
- 20 North York
- 21 Peel
- 22 Perth
- 23 Peterborough
- 24 Port Hope
- 25 Prescott & Russell
- 26 Simcoe
- 27 St. Catharines
- 28 Sudbury
- 29 Thunder Bay
- 30 Timiskaming
- 31 Waterloo
- 32 Welland
- 33 Windsor
- 34 York

NOVA SCOTIA

- 1 Antigonish
- 2 Cape Breton
- 3 Colchester
- 4 Cumberland
- 5 Digby
- 6 Guysborough
- 7 Hants
- 8 Inverness
- 9 Kings
- 10 Lunenburg
- 11 Pictou
- 12 Queens
- 13 Richmond
- 14 Shelburne
- 15 Strait
- 16 Tynesburg
- 17 Yarmouth

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

- 1 Antigonish
- 2 Cape Breton
- 3 Colchester
- 4 Cumberland
- 5 Digby
- 6 Guysborough
- 7 Hants
- 8 Inverness
- 9 Kings
- 10 Lunenburg
- 11 Pictou
- 12 Queens
- 13 Richmond
- 14 Shelburne
- 15 Strait
- 16 Tynesburg
- 17 Yarmouth

NEW BRUNSWICK

- 1 Antigonish
- 2 Cape Breton
- 3 Colchester
- 4 Cumberland
- 5 Digby
- 6 Guysborough
- 7 Hants
- 8 Inverness
- 9 Kings
- 10 Lunenburg
- 11 Pictou
- 12 Queens
- 13 Richmond
- 14 Shelburne
- 15 Strait
- 16 Tynesburg
- 17 Yarmouth

NEWFOUNDLAND

- 1 Antigonish
- 2 Cape Breton
- 3 Colchester
- 4 Cumberland
- 5 Digby
- 6 Guysborough
- 7 Hants
- 8 Inverness
- 9 Kings
- 10 Lunenburg
- 11 Pictou
- 12 Queens
- 13 Richmond
- 14 Shelburne
- 15 Strait
- 16 Tynesburg
- 17 Yarmouth

94. *The counties of Digby and Yarmouth (Nova Scotia)* have 15,000 residents of French mother tongue out of a total population of 43,600. They make up a little more than a third of the population and their retention index is 76 per cent (19,800 people of French origin).

95. *The counties of Inverness and Richmond on Cape Breton Island (Nova Scotia)* have a population of French mother tongue of 9,800, 33 per cent of the total population of 30,100. Their retention index is 84 per cent (11,600 people of French origin).

96. The French mother-tongue population of the counties of *Essex and Kent (Ontario)* is 32,400 or 9 per cent of the total population (348,000). However, the number of Canadians of French origin is double the number of those of French mother tongue, giving a retention index of only 49 per cent. Nearly two-thirds of the people of French mother tongue in these two counties live on the U.S. border in the metropolitan area of Windsor, a third of them within the city proper.

97. *In southeastern Manitoba*, a considerable concentration of French-speaking people can be found in census divisions 1, 6, and 20. Of 60,900 persons of French mother tongue in the province 41,200 live in this area. This concentration is heavier than it appears at first glance, since 27,900 people of French mother tongue live in the Winnipeg region (census division 20). Moreover, 13,400 of this number live in St. Boniface (36 per cent of its population). However, the French percentage in the whole area is only 6. The 8,900 residents of French mother tongue in division 1 constitute 31 per cent of the population, while their 4,400 fellows in division 6 are only 14 per cent. The retention index of the 54,200 Canadians of French origin in these three census divisions goes as high as 76 per cent.

98. These seven regions alone contain a total of 604,300 persons of French mother tongue, 71 per cent of the 853,000 who live outside Quebec.¹ As is stated above, other French-speaking groups could have been added to these. This has not been done because, generally speaking, these groups are all more dispersed or constitute a less significant numerical proportion of the population of the areas where they live.

99. Two general conclusions can be drawn from the description just given. First, there are, outside Quebec, areas distinguished by the presence of relatively important French mother-tongue communities. Second, many of these groups have up to now displayed a remarkable vitality, judging by the criterion of retention of mother tongue. In the three regions on the Quebec border, the retention index ranges up to 96

¹ Taking into account only regions of Ontario and New Brunswick adjacent to Quebec, we find there 505,000 persons of French mother tongue, 59 per cent of those living outside Quebec.

per cent and nowhere falls below 84 per cent. It is hardly lower in the two northern and southern regions of Nova Scotia; in southwestern Manitoba, it is still 76 per cent. We can say that Windsor, Ontario, is the only one of these areas where assimilation to English has made noteworthy advances (51 per cent in 1961).

Minorities of
English mother
tongue

100. Except for Gloucester and Madawaska counties in New Brunswick,¹ significant concentrations of persons of English mother tongue living among a French-speaking majority are to be found only in Quebec. In this province, more than 92 per cent of those of English mother tongue are to be found in five regions: Montreal and vicinity, southeastern Quebec, along the Ottawa River, and in the Gaspé region and Saguenay county. The rest (47,000) are distributed very unevenly through 43 of Quebec's 75 counties.

101. *The Montreal area.* In 1961, on the Island of Montreal alone, there were 419,300 people of English mother tongue, 24 per cent of its population. When we include the 17,300 on Île Jésus (14 per cent of the population) and the 35,200 in the county of Chambly (24 per cent), they make up a little more than two-thirds of the English mother-tongue population of Quebec. To have a complete view of the Montreal area we must include eight other minorities—Argenteuil (9,700 or 30 per cent), Deux-Montagnes (5,900 or 18 per cent), Vaudreuil (6,800 or 24 per cent), Terrebonne (8,100 or 8 per cent), Montcalm (1,100 or 6 per cent), Verchères (2,000 or 8 per cent), Laprairie (4,200 or 13 per cent), Châteauguay (10,200 or 30 per cent)—an additional 48,000 persons. Thus the Montreal region has 520,000 people of English mother tongue or three-quarters of the Quebec population having English as mother tongue (697,000).

102. *Southeastern Quebec* includes 11 counties to the east of Montreal whose population is at least 5 per cent English by mother tongue. They are Beauharnois, Rouville, Saint-Jean, and eight counties of the Eastern Townships. The size of the English mother-tongue population and its percentage of the total in each county are: Beauharnois (2,700 or 5 per cent), Rouville (3,500 or 13 per cent), Saint-Jean (4,000 or 10 per cent), Brome (7,200 or 52 per cent), Compton (4,900 or 20 per cent), Huntingdon (5,900 or 40 per cent), Missisquoi (6,300 or 21 per cent), Richmond (5,300 or 13 per cent), Shefford (4,900 or 9 per cent), Sherbrooke (11,300 or 14 per cent), Stanstead (8,300 or 23 per cent)—a total of 64,300 people.

103. *The Ottawa Valley region* comprises five counties on the Ottawa River with a total of 42,500 inhabitants of English mother tongue. They constitute 55 per cent of the population of Pontiac, 30

¹ The proportion of the population of English mother tongue is 14 per cent in Gloucester county and 5 per cent in Madawaska.

per cent of Gatineau, 13 per cent of Papineau, 11 per cent of Temiskaming, and 9 per cent of Hull.

104. In the *Gaspé region* there are four counties where persons of English mother tongue account for at least 5 per cent of the population. The proportion goes as high as 15 per cent only in Gaspé-Est. It is 14 per cent in Bonaventure, 6 per cent in Îles-de-la-Madeleine and 5 per cent in Gaspé-Ouest. There is a total of 14,400 persons of English mother tongue throughout the region.

105. The huge county of *Saguenay* in northern Quebec contains 8,700 residents of English mother tongue (11 per cent of the population).

106. In short, 650,000 people of English mother tongue live in these five regions. The remaining 47,000 in Quebec are scattered in several cities and urban areas in various districts. Among these are the metropolitan area of Quebec City, where they number 13,400 people (4 per cent); the cities of Granby (2,300 or 7 per cent) and Noranda (3,300 or 28 per cent); and the major urban areas of Chicoutimi-Jonquière (3,000 or 3 per cent); Trois-Rivières (2,700 or 3 per cent); and Shawinigan (2,200 or 3 per cent).

Summary

G. Bilingual and Unilingual Persons

107. There is still another aspect to be examined—that of the linguistic resources in Canada relating to the two official languages. For although a bilingual state does not exist in order to increase the number of bilingual persons, it could not function at all if there were not a sufficient number of citizens able to communicate in both languages.

108. From the census question on the two official languages we learn how many (and which) Canadians know both English and French, and by cross-checking we learn how many are unilingual. Moreover, the question also tells us where these bilingual and unilingual persons live, and what their ethnic origin is.

109. About 12 per cent of Canadians spoke both official languages in 1961, but they were not evenly distributed across Canada. Table 8 shows that only Quebec (about 25 per cent) and New Brunswick (19 per cent) have a higher proportion of bilingual persons than the national average. In five other provinces or territories (Yukon and Northwest Territories) the average is either equal to, or superior to, half the national average. Ontario, with almost half a million bilingual persons (8 per cent) heads this category while Newfoundland and the three provinces farthest west—British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan—have an average of less than 5 per cent of bilingual persons.

Individual
bilingualism

Table 8. Distribution of Bilingual Persons, Canada and Provinces, 1961

Province or territory	Total	Bilingual	
		Number	%
Canada	18,238,247	2,231,172	12.2
Newfoundland	457,853	5,299	1.2
Prince Edward Island	104,629	7,938	7.6
Nova Scotia	737,007	44,987	6.1
New Brunswick	597,936	113,495	19.0
Quebec	5,259,211	1,338,878	25.5
Ontario	6,236,092	493,270	7.9
Manitoba	921,686	68,368	7.4
Saskatchewan	925,181	42,074	4.5
Alberta	1,331,944	56,920	4.3
British Columbia	1,629,082	57,504	3.5
Yukon and N.W.T.	37,626	2,439	6.5

Source: Census of Canada, 1961

110. Next to Quebec, Ontario has the most bilingual persons in absolute numbers. There are 493,300 such persons in Ontario, compared to 113,500 in New Brunswick.

Individual
unilingualism

111. In Canada, unilingual persons are a very numerous group. In 1961 (Table 9), out of a total population of more than 18,000,000 persons, 67 per cent or 12,000,000 were English-speaking unilinguals and 19 per cent or 3,500,000 were French-speaking unilingual persons.¹ In all provinces except two—Quebec and New Brunswick—the proportion of English-speaking unilingual persons was greater than the national average. In Ontario, 89 per cent of the population, or 5,500,000 persons, spoke English only. On the other hand, in all provinces except Quebec and New Brunswick, the proportion of French-speaking unilingual persons was less than the national average. It is noteworthy that in Quebec, French-speaking unilingual persons constitute 62 per cent of the total population of the province, while in New Brunswick they form 19 per cent of the population.

Most bilingual
persons are of
French mother
tongue

112. In view of this, it is easy to see that it is mainly people of French mother tongue who are bilingual in Canada. About 30 per cent of persons whose mother tongue is French also know English but, of those whose mother tongue is other than French, less than 5 per cent also know French. The first group, consisting of only 28 per cent of

¹ The proportion of unilingual persons within each linguistic group is considerably different.

Table 9. Distribution of English-speaking and French-speaking Unilingual Persons, Canada and Provinces, 1961

Province or territory	Total	English only		French only	
		Number	%	Number	%
Canada	18,238,247	12,284,762	67.4	3,489,866	19.1
Newfoundland	457,853	450,945	98.5	522	0.1
Prince Edward Island	104,629	95,296	91.1	1,219	1.2
Nova Scotia	737,007	684,805	92.9	5,938	0.8
New Brunswick	597,936	370,922	62.0	112,054	18.7
Quebec	5,259,211	608,635	11.6	3,254,850	61.9
Ontario	6,236,092	5,548,766	89.0	95,236	1.5
Manitoba	921,686	825,955	89.6	7,954	0.9
Saskatchewan	925,181	865,821	93.6	3,853	0.4
Alberta	1,331,944	1,253,824	94.1	5,534	0.4
British Columbia	1,629,082	1,552,560	95.3	2,559	0.2
Yukon and N.W.T.	37,626	27,233	72.4	147	0.4

Source: Census of Canada, 1961.

Canadians, provides 70 per cent of the bilingual persons while the second group, consisting of 72 per cent of the population, provides only 30 per cent of bilingual persons.

113. Until now we have dealt only with bilingualism in the two official languages, but it is obvious there are other forms of bilingualism in Canada. Approximately 2,000,000 Canadians (about 11 per cent of the population) know English or French in addition to their maternal language. Of these, 129,100 know both English and French. On the other hand, only 232,500 persons of other ethnic origins in Canada did not know either French or English in 1961.

Other forms of
bilingualism

H. Conclusion

114. It follows from all this that, despite the constant increase in numbers of Canadians of other ethnic origins, as a result of immigration, linguistic duality remains the basic characteristic and foundation of the Canadian community. The integration of Canadians of non-British and non-French origin into the two linguistic groups gives each a pluralistic character, even if assimilation to English is much stronger and more marked than assimilation to French. However, neither demography nor the law of numbers is the sole factor governing bilingualism in Canada, as we shall see in the next chapter.

115. The existing state of language rights in Canada is one very important aspect of the present situation which we found to be the subject of many different views and misconceptions. The historical development of these rights has indeed characterized the political and constitutional history of Canada almost from the beginning. True enough, in earlier times there appears to have been less concern about the preservation of language than about the right of French Canadians to practise unhindered their Roman Catholic religion. It was only later that language itself became an issue, intimately bound up with the struggle for cultural survival.

Introduction

116. The expression "language rights" is not easy to define. In our context it is obvious that this term does not refer merely to the right of a citizen to communicate with his fellow citizens in his own language, whatever it may be. This right has never been legally challenged, though individuals may have used social pressures to force linguistic conformity. The rights chiefly concerning us in this Report are those which a Francophone or Anglophone possesses, either by law or by well-established custom, to use his mother tongue in his dealings with public authorities. Strictly speaking, a linguistic "right" is a specific legal protection for the use of a given language. It involves the use of language in the conduct of public affairs: in the parliamentary and legislative process; in the day-to-day administration of government; in the rendering of justice; and in the public school system. It may also involve private activities. Thus language rights are measured by the degree to which a given language receives formal and practical recognition in the constitution of a country and in its political, social, educational, and economic life.

"Language rights"

A. Evolution of Language Rights in Canada

1. From the Treaty of Utrecht to Confederation: 1713 to 1867

117. The basic questions of religion and language go back to the earliest colonial days. When the first French explorers came they found a multitude of Indian tribes, each speaking its own language, and many of these languages have survived to the present day.¹ The confrontation of French and English began early and has been manifest at one time or another in almost every part of the country. Not only the history of Quebec, but the evolution of Canada, has been marked by the meeting of these two linguistic groups.

Treaty of
Utrecht

118. In fact, the problem antedates the Conquest of 1760 by almost half a century. It was on April 11, 1713, that most of Acadia,² until then mainly a French possession, became a British colony. By article XIV of the Treaty of Utrecht, those Acadians who chose to remain were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, as far as the laws of England would permit. The coexistence of two religious communities was thus officially recognized, though the change of sovereignty made English the language of government.

119. At that time, Acadia had about 1,700 settlers, all of them French. Until 1749, when the French-speaking population had reached about 10,000 and the English element remained limited mainly to officials, including the military, a form of Acadian self-government survived and French was in fact, if not in law, the principal language of the new colony. Thereafter, it is true, the combined effect of English settlement and of the deportation of the Acadians reversed the situation and gave the Maritime Provinces a predominantly English stamp. But in Nova Scotia and especially in what was to become (in 1784) New Brunswick, the French fact never disappeared. Today French has regained *de facto*, and to some extent *de jure*, a considerable measure of official recognition in the conduct of the public affairs of New Brunswick.³

The Conquest

120. The main battleground, however, was to be in the territory of Canada ceded by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, comprising the provinces now called Quebec and Ontario. By the time of the British military conquest of 1760, Canada had a homogeneous French population of

¹ Experts today distinguish no less than ten Indian and one Eskimo language groupings or stocks; each of these contains from one to 15 different languages or dialects.

² "Acadia" comprised parts of the Maritime Provinces; its boundaries were not defined by the Treaty of Utrecht.

³ A resolution adopted unanimously March 30, 1967, by the legislature of New Brunswick introduced simultaneous interpretation in the House and authorized the establishment of a translation bureau for the provincial government.

about 65,000 inhabitants (almost exclusively Roman Catholic) as well as an undetermined number of scattered and often nomadic Indian tribes.

121. The terms of the capitulation of Quebec and Montreal were written in French and English. The early military government in Canada (1760-1763) proceeded cautiously, waiting for the mother country to determine its Canadian policy. French administrative districts were retained; French militia officers were authorized to render justice in their own language; French private law continued to be followed and military ordinances were issued in French or in French and English. This interim policy changed after the definitive treaty of peace was concluded in 1763 between Great Britain, France, and Spain.

Military government

122. By the Treaty of Paris, France ceded the whole of Canada to Britain, subject to an undertaking similar to that in the Treaty of Utrecht to respect the religious freedom of Roman Catholics, so far as the laws of England permitted. Nothing was said about private law or the use of language. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 dealt with the four new English colonies in America—Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada—in exactly the same manner, and considered setting up assemblies which would enact statutes and courts of justice to decide disputes, “as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England.” The confusion following the attempt to apply the Proclamation to the French population in Quebec is well known. Even at this early date, Quebec was not a colony “comme les autres”; a well-established community with its own language, laws, and institutions could not be made over on the American model. There was a period of considerable agitation, the English minority pressing for total assimilation and the French petitioning for the maintenance of French private law, access to French-speaking lawyers, and a bilingual system of justice. Gradually the British authorities, influenced by Governor Murray’s conciliatory arguments, began to adapt their policy to the facts of the situation. In 1766 an ordinance permitted Canadian lawyers (at that time Canadian meant French Canadian) to practise in all courts and provided for a system of mixed, civil juries: entirely English for cases mooted between British parties, entirely Canadian for cases involving Canadians only, mixed in other cases. These were the foundations of the jury structure still used in Quebec today. In 1771, the French seigneurial system of land tenure was recognized and new land grants were to be made according to the ancient French law.

The Treaty of Paris

123. After a number of other manoeuvres and further measures of relaxation, the difficulties were partially resolved by the passing in 1774 of the Quebec Act, which finally recognized the cultural duality.

The Quebec Act

Article VIII re-established French law “in all matters of controversy, relative to property and civil rights.” English criminal law was confirmed, but there had never been any serious demand for restoration of French criminal law. Freedom of religious practice for Roman Catholics was reasserted, and all religious handicaps to public office were removed. The Act did not contain any general language provisions or, for that matter, any reference to the language to be used in judicial proceedings, although the restoration of French private law must have implied the right of suitors to resort to French.

124. The Quebec Act provided for an appointive legislative council consisting of 17 to 23 members. It is known that the debates and records of the council were kept in both languages and that all its ordinances were published in both French and English. As for the system of justice created pursuant to the Act, it generally recognized the equality of both languages and laid the foundation for the bilingual procedure still used in Quebec.

125. Nevertheless, while the new régime may have pleased His Majesty’s new Canadian subjects, or at least assuaged their fears, it did not quiet the discontent of the increasing English element of the province. This population had been augmented by a massive Loyalist immigration after the American War of Independence. The local English wanted an elective or representative assembly, the introduction of English as the sole official language, and the suppression of French law. Since experience had shown that the French Canadians would not readily give up their laws or their language, the United Kingdom Parliament sought to resolve the potential conflict and to ensure the tranquillity of British North America by dividing the province of Quebec into two parts corresponding to the linguistic and cultural division of its inhabitants. Partition was thus an early attempt to solve the linguistic problem.

The Constitutional
Act

126. The division was achieved by the passing of the Canada Act, also known as the Constitutional Act, of 1791. The old province of Quebec, stretching to Ohio, disappeared, and in its place Upper Canada (the future Ontario) and Lower Canada emerged, each governed by an appointed legislative council and an elected popular assembly. All Canadian subjects were eligible for both chambers.

127. This new legislation did not dissolve old animosities and some acrimonious scenes took place in the legislative assembly of Lower Canada, particularly over the language of the Speaker. But there were also some positive developments. Thus, from the very first session in the winter of 1792, the practice was adopted of using both languages in proposing bills and motions. Following a protracted debate on the language of bills, it was decided that all bills, irrespective of the

language in which they had been presented, should be translated and read in both languages. The rule was qualified so that the official text would be in the language of the area of law to which the bills related: French for those concerned with civil law and English for those concerned with criminal law.

128. In Upper Canada, the problem was obviously somewhat different. On October 15, 1792, the legislative assembly of Upper Canada abrogated article VIII of the Quebec Act, which made French law applicable in matters of property and civil rights, and replaced it with the laws of England. In the same year, mixed juries were abolished. But French did not entirely lose its official status. For instance, the statute creating a Court of King's Bench for Upper Canada required that notices attached to processes served on Canadian defendants be written in the French language.¹ In June 1793, a resolution of the legislative assembly provided for unofficial translations of Upper Canada statutes for the benefit of French settlers.

129. However, such scant provisions as there were in Upper Canada for the use of the French language were not free from attack. As early as 1822, a bill had been introduced in the United Kingdom Parliament to reunite Lower and Upper Canada and to suppress French altogether. It was withdrawn in the face of French Canadian opposition. In 1839, after the two rebellions of 1837 and 1838, the legislative assembly of Upper Canada passed a resolution whereby English was to be made the only language in the debates of the legislature as well as before the courts of justice, and in all public documents.

The rebellions of
1837 and 1838

130. As a consequence of the rebellions of 1837 and 1838, the United Kingdom Parliament suspended the Constitution of 1791 so far as it affected Lower Canada. A special council was set up to govern the province. The rules and orders it adopted were silent on the language of proceedings, a silence which may be explained by the fact that all its members were English-speaking. All its ordinances were passed in English, although they appear to have been printed in each language in separate volumes. Court proceedings continued to be bilingual.

131. Shortly thereafter, the Earl of Durham was appointed High Commissioner and Governor General of British North America, with instructions to investigate the sources of discord in Canada and to suggest a remedy. Five months of research produced his famous *Report on the Affairs of British North America*. Lord Durham saw two primary causes for the troubles besetting Canada: the cleavage between the two ethnic groups aggravated by language differences, and the antagonism between the elective and appointive branches of government. Durham's proposed solutions are well known: union of the two

Lord Durham

¹ S.U.C. 1794, 34 Geo. III, c.2, s.9.

provinces as a means of eventually providing an English majority in the legislature; eventual assimilation of the French by the influx of English settlers, as in Louisiana; and introduction of responsible government, to make the executive responsible to the legislature.

The Act of
Union, 1840

132. The result was the 1840 Act of Union which reunited Lower and Upper Canada. While the status of French in the courts was unaffected, section XLI provided that all the records and proceedings of the legislative council and of the legislative assembly were to be in English only, although unofficial translations were permitted by the Act.

133. Several measures soon attenuated the harshness of section XLI. In 1841, the Parliament of Canada adopted an act to permit French translations and distribution of both Canadian and British statutes.¹ The legislative assembly adopted formal Rules and Regulations, articles 29 and 37 of which provided that the journals of the House were to be kept in both languages and that every motion should be read in both French and English before it could be debated. The following year, the United Canada Parliament appointed three commissioners to revise and consolidate the laws and ordinances of the former Lower Canada. This revision was made in both languages and the commissioners recommended that an English version of French laws in force be prepared for the benefit of the English population, and vice versa. In the following years further legislative provisions were made for the bilingual publication and distribution of statutes. Finally, in 1848, after a long struggle by French-speaking members of the legislative assembly culminating in a joint address by both Houses, the United Kingdom Parliament repealed section XLI completely. A symbolic recognition of the official status of French came in 1849 when Lord Elgin read the Speech from the Throne in both languages.

The United
Province of
Canada and
official bilingualism

134. Thereafter all bills were assented to in both languages so that the French version, instead of being an unofficial translation, had equal status. The United Province of Canada thus became officially bilingual at least 18 years before the passage of the British North America Act. Even statutes applicable to Canada West only were published in French as well as in English, so it may be said that Ontario has already had 18 years' experience of being a bilingual province.

135. It should be noted that during those troubled years, French never lost its status in the courts of Lower Canada, no matter what happened at the legislative level. In essence the statutory provisions regulating language at the time gave to the parties a choice of languages. There were also provisions for court officials such as bailiffs and lawyers to write in either French or English. The institution of mixed juries was also reaffirmed and measures were adopted to avoid

¹ S.C. 1841, 4-5 Vic., c.11.

packing them to the detriment of either the French or the English. Many other legislative provisions were passed giving effect to official bilingualism. The best known no doubt was the Act requiring codification in both languages of the civil law of Quebec.¹

2. *Confederation: 1867*

136. The present legal foundation of linguistic rights in Canada is to be found in section 133 of the B.N.A. Act of 1867:

Either the English or the French language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both those Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses; and either of those Languages may be used by any Person or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and or from all or from any of the Courts of Quebec.

The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both those Languages.

137. This fundamental text was the product of a long debate surrounding section 46 of the 1864 Quebec Resolutions and section 45 of the 1866 London Resolutions. The language of these two sections was practically the same:

Background of
section 133

Both the English and French languages may be employed in the General Parliament and in its proceedings, and in the Local Legislature of Lower Canada, and also in the Federal Courts and in the Courts of Lower Canada.

138. Speakers in the Confederation debates such as Félix Geoffrion, E. Rémillard, and Antoine-Aimé Dorion had been quick to point out that the wording of the resolutions was permissive rather than mandatory and did not impose any obligations to use French in Parliament or in the courts. As Félix Geoffrion said on March 8, 1865:

A close examination of this resolution [No. 46 of the *Quebec Resolutions*] shows at once that it does not declare that the French language is to be on the same footing as the English language in the Federal and Local Legislatures; in place of the word "shall" which ought to have been inserted in the resolution the word used is "may", so that if the British majority decides that the *Votes and Proceedings* and Bills of the House shall be printed only in English, nothing can prevent the enactment taking effect. Of course we shall be allowed to use French language in debate, but on the other hand, it is evident that the majority may, whenever they choose, enact that the bills and proceedings of the House shall not be printed in French, and consequently the clause affords no security whatever to us French-Canadians.

¹ S.P.C. 1857, 20 Vic., c.43.

Mr. E. Rémillard pointed out that, conversely, the French majority in Lower Canada could similarly deprive the English minority of its rights in the Quebec Legislature.

139. The British North America Bill went through five stages before it finally became law in 1867 and only at the third stage of drafting did the 46th resolution become the 81st section, and the word "shall" replaced the word "may" in the paragraph relative to the journals of the federal Parliament and the Quebec legislature. Only in the fourth draft were bilingual statutes added, and the section ultimately became section 133 of the B.N.A. Act as we know it.

Section 133

140. Thus French received definitive recognition in the fundamental constitutional law of Canada as an official language equal to English for all federal statutes and in all federal courts everywhere in Canada, and for provincial statutes and in provincial courts in Quebec. Prior to that, its status had depended on usage or on the revocable rules adopted by the House of Lower Canada and subsequently, after 1848, by the United Canada Parliament.

141. Section 133, as we shall see, is far from clear, and puts Quebec in a special position. Nevertheless, section 133 is firmly entrenched. Indeed, the 1949 British North America (No. 2) Act,¹ giving Parliament power to amend the Constitution of Canada, specifically excluded from the operation of this new amending power the use of the English or the French language, and obviously thus excluded section 133. Under present constitutional conventions, the unanimity of all Canadian jurisdictions would be required to change this section.

3. The western provinces and the territories: 1870 to 1892

142. The constitutional history of language rights in Canada neither begins nor ends with the B.N.A. Act, least of all in the western part of the country where significant developments took place.

The Hudson's
Bay Company

143. Most of what is now western Canada was brought under British rule by the Royal Charter of 1670, which incorporated the Hudson's Bay Company. Known as Rupert's Land, this enormous territory was handed over to 18 grantees with the sole right of trade and commerce as well as government. The Charter stipulated that the Hudson's Bay Company was to render justice according to the laws of England. Since the Imperial Act of 1731 provided that English should be the sole language of proceedings before all courts in England, it might be said that from that date at least the Hudson's Bay's courts had to render justice in English only. No exceptions to this rule have been noted in the early history of the Company. The ordinances and notices of the governors of the Company were published in English

¹ 1949, 13 Geo. VI, c.81 (U.K.).

only. However, French began to acquire some status after 1811 when the Hudson's Bay Company granted to the Earl of Selkirk a large tract of land along the Red and Assiniboia Rivers which became known as the district of Assiniboia, the forerunner of the present province of Manitoba. Some evidence exists of a limited use of French. But only after the estate of the Earl of Selkirk retransferred the district to the Company in 1835 were inroads made in the Company's unilingualism.

144. The records of the Council of Assiniboia disclose evidence of an evolving bilingualism resulting from the need to communicate with the sizable French and Métis population. From the beginning the laws of the district were promulgated in both languages and so printed. The General Enactments of the governor and of the Council of Assiniboia were consolidated in 1852 and again in 1862, and both consolidations were published in the two languages. The path to bilingualism in the administration of justice in Assiniboia was apparently not as smooth, and the French-speaking Métis agitated for the right to be tried in their own language. Around the 1850's a measure of bilingualism was introduced in the judicial system and some of the judges named were French-speaking.

145. However, a crisis developed at Confederation, when the Hudson's Bay Company territories were transferred by the Rupert's Land Act to the government of Canada. At the instigation of the Métis leaders, a joint council consisting of 12 English-speaking and 12 French-speaking representatives from the several parishes was organized in 1869. It refused to recognize the authority of Canada and declared itself to be the "only and lawful authority now in existence in Rupert's land and the Northwest." At its last meeting, on December 1, 1869, the council adopted a list of 14 specific rights which it considered indispensable to a satisfactory government of the Northwest. Among these were equality of English and French in the legislature and in the courts as well as in all public records, and the bilingualism of judges of the Supreme Court. While the Métis attempt at self-government failed, these claims were eventually embodied in the statute which carved the province of Manitoba out of the North-western Territory. Indeed, in language considerably reminiscent of that of section 133 of the B.N.A. Act, section 23 of the Manitoba Act of 1870¹ provided for the use of either English or French in the debates of the provincial legislature and for the obligatory use of both languages in the records and journals. All acts and statutes were to be printed and published in both languages. Furthermore, either language could be used in the courts.

The Manitoba
crisis

¹ S.C. 1870, 33 Vic., c.3.

146. Until section 23 of the Manitoba Act was repealed in 1890, several acts of the Manitoba legislature extended official bilingualism considerably beyond the scope of section 23. For instance, provisions were made for bilingual municipal notices, for electoral forms in both languages, for bilingual proclamations and voters' notices. The right of an accused to a mixed jury in criminal cases was affirmed and mixed juries were even allowed in civil suits in the eastern judicial districts.

147. However, a large influx of English-speaking people from eastern Canada, the United States, and the British Isles reduced the French-speaking element to a small minority. This trend was accentuated by a change in electoral divisions which sharply diminished French-speaking representation in the legislature. Assimilationist and anti-Roman Catholic pressures grew stronger. Eventually, in 1890, the Manitoba legislature adopted the English Language Act¹ making English the sole language to be used in the records and journals of the legislature and in all Manitoba courts as well as in the publication of all Manitoba statutes. While the legality of this statute was immediately questioned, the federal government refused to disallow it, and the Act has not to this day been tested in a court of law. As a matter of legislative fact, after 1890, Manitoba became a unilingual jurisdiction.

The "Northwest
Territories"

148. On the passage of the Manitoba Act, the name "Northwest Territories" was given to the portion of Rupert's Land and of the North-western Territory not included in the province of Manitoba. From the outset, there was some French representation on its governing council. In the first five years, there is evidence of *de facto* bilingualism (and even of multilingualism) in the printing and distribution of statutes and certain other documents. It also appears that both French and English could be used in some of the courts, since several of the judges were French-speaking, and that bills were drawn up for the council in both languages.

149. Official bilingualism was sanctioned formally when the Northwest Territories Act was amended in 1877² and section 11 of the amending statute provided:

Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debate of said Council, and in the proceedings before the Courts, and published by the Lieutenant-Governor in conformity with the law and Council, and the ordinances of said Council shall be printed in both those languages.

At that time the French-speaking population numbered 2,896 and the English-speaking population 3,104.

¹ S.M. 1890, 53 Vic., c.14.

² S.C., 40 Vic., c.7.

150. The ordinances of the Northwest Territories Council of 1878 were the first to be printed for general circulation, and in two versions. In fact, the French version preceded the English text by at least four years. The practice of publishing ordinances in both English and French continued for 14 years until the legislative assembly of the Northwest Territories, in 1892, adopted English as the only language of record. Some other legislative evidence exists during that period of the official recognition of the two languages (although provision was also made on occasion for various Indian languages).

151. With the Northwest rebellion of 1885 and the political circumstances surrounding the execution of Louis Riel playing a part in the overall situation, the passage by the Quebec legislature of the Jesuits' Estates Act¹ triggered a campaign against French and Roman Catholic influences in Canadian politics which extended to the Northwest Territories as well. The campaign was led by D'Alton McCarthy, a prominent Conservative member of Parliament and an ardent assimilationist. He campaigned for the abolition of French as an official language in the legislature and in the courts of the Territories. A politically embarrassing debate followed in the Dominion Parliament and the proposal was ultimately watered down: it provided that after the next general elections in the Territories, the assembly should have the power to regulate the manner in which its proceedings were recorded. After further hesitations the compromise was finally embodied in the 1891 Act to Amend the Northwest Territories Act² which added to the above-quoted section 11 the following:

. . . after the next general election of the Legislative Assembly, such Assembly may, by ordinance or otherwise, regulate its proceedings, in a manner of recording and publishing the same; and the regulations so made shall be embodied in a proclamation which shall be forthwith made and published by the Lieutenant Governor in conformity with the law and thereafter shall have full force and effect.

152. In January 1892, Frederick Haultain moved in the legislative assembly "that it is desirable that the proceedings . . . shall be recorded and published thereafter in the English language only." The resolution was passed over some opposition. Thereafter it was taken for granted that French was abolished in the legislative assembly of the Northwest Territories. In practice, French ceased to have an official existence. But there seems to be some doubt as to the constitutionality of this abolition. Indeed, although the 1891 amendment to the North-

¹ Entitled an Act respecting the Settlement of the Jesuits' Estates, S.Q. 1888, 51-2 Vic., c.13.

² S.C. 1891, 54-5 Vic., c.22, s.18. One should note that in 1888, in the revised statutes, R.S.C. 1888, c.50, s.11 of the 1877 statute had become s.110.

west Territories Act required any resolution of the assembly to be embodied in a proclamation before becoming law, a diligent search of the Public Archives of Canada and of other likely sources—including the archives of Saskatchewan which would be the proper depository of such proclamation—has failed to disclose it, assuming it exists.

Alberta and
Saskatchewan

153. If doubt surrounds the legality of the abolition of French in the Northwest Territories, by implication the same might be said of the Yukon Territory Act of 1898¹ which rendered applicable to the Yukon all existing Northwest Territories legislation until amended or repealed. Similar reasoning might be applied to the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. They were carved out of the Northwest Territories respectively by the Alberta Act² and the Saskatchewan Act³ of 1905, section 16 of each of these statutes providing for the continuation of *then existing* Northwest Territories legislation. A careful examination of all relevant statutes of both Alberta and Saskatchewan from the first legislative session of each to the present day showed that there had never been an express repeal by them of section 11 of the Northwest Territories Act.

Present status of
the French
language

154. Nevertheless, it is a fact that French is considered by most people to have no official recognition in the Northwest Territories, the Yukon, Alberta, or Saskatchewan. The only pertinent legislative provision was section 27 of the Alberta Interpretation Act⁴ which provided that all public records or written processes should be in English. On the other hand it must be recalled that the Acts constituting the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, as federal statutes, are themselves bilingual. In the interpretation of the original constitutions of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta the French version has equal validity with the English. In our opinion, it is therefore not true to say that French has no official status on the Prairies.

B. The Meaning of Section 133 of the B.N.A. Act

155. Section 133 of the B.N.A. Act, as we have seen, is entrenched against amendment by the Parliament of Canada, and is the only linguistic guarantee in the B.N.A. Act. Yet even a superficial analysis of the terms of section 133 makes it evident that its scope is very limited. True, it is quite comprehensive so far as either federal or Quebec legislation is concerned: either language can be used in the debates and

¹ S.C. 1898, 61 Vic., c.6.

² S.C. 1905, 4-5 Ed. VII, c.3.

³ S.C. 1905, 4-5 Ed. VII, c.42.

⁴ S.A. 1958, c.32.

both must be used in the records and journals as well as in the publication of all statutes. If legislation is considered in its traditional sense, and if we disregard the omission of any reference to the language of *enactment* of statutes, as distinguished from the language of publication, this might seem to be fairly unambiguous and satisfactory. But when the Fathers of Confederation drafted the Quebec and London Resolutions and when the United Kingdom Parliament enacted section 133, they hardly anticipated a vast forest of subordinate or delegated legislation.

156. The growth of administrative law in the present century has been enormous. While at one time legislative activity was limited to parliamentary statutes and to the occasional executive ordinance, today it encompasses a vast array of regulations, rules, orders, by-laws, ordinances, orders-in-council, and proclamations which affect the rights and obligations of all citizens. Yet the wording of section 133 of the B.N.A. Act can hardly be said to embrace any of them within its ambit. Constitutionally speaking, neither federal nor Quebec administrative law is required to be bilingual and in fact a substantial proportion of it is unilingual. Admittedly, most federal subordinate legislation and important Quebec regulations are published in both languages, but this is done for practical reasons or because of custom rather than because of any constitutional requirement.

Administrative
law

157. The second broad area to which section 133 applies is that of the court proceedings. In "any Court of Canada . . . and in . . . any of the Courts of Quebec" it is provided that either French or English may be used for "any Pleading or Process." What is meant by "Court of Canada" and "all or any of the Courts of Quebec" is by no means certain. On the one hand, it is evident that the Supreme Court, the Exchequer Court, and Courts Martial are "Courts of Canada." But the position of other courts—the Senate Divorce Commissioner or provincial courts to which Parliament has attributed federal jurisdictions such as in the field of criminal law, bankruptcy, or citizenship—is far from clear.

Court proceedings

158. Another uncertainty is the position of the rising number of quasi-judicial boards and commissions exercising many of the functions previously reserved to ordinary courts of law. At the federal level we counted at least 13 important boards and commissions exercising such quasi-judicial jurisdiction.¹ Equally active quasi-judicial tribunals were

Quasi-judicial
bodies

¹ The Air Transport Board, the Board of Broadcast Governors, the Board of Transport Commissioners, the Canada Labour Relations Board, the Canadian Pension Commission, the Merchant Seamen Compensation Board, the National Energy Board, the National Parole Board, the Tariff Board, the Tax Appeal Board, the Unemployment Insurance Commission, the War Veterans Allowance Board, the Restrictive Trade Practices Commission.

identified in Quebec.¹ Quantitatively, this subordinate or delegated type of justice may be as vital today, if not more so, as that administered in the traditional courts. But constitutional language guarantees do not purport to apply to them.

The civil service

159. Also because the Constitution very properly states only the minimum linguistic requirements, it is entirely silent as to the language to be used in the actual conduct of government and administration. It does not provide for the linguistic composition of the civil service or guarantee the language rights of citizens in their various contacts with the state. It makes no provision for the protection of language rights in municipal government. In short, the Constitution does not ensure that the public affairs of any given jurisdiction (federal, provincial, or local) must be conducted in either language. It is not even clear from the B.N.A. Act who has jurisdiction over languages. The most casual reading of Canadian statutes soon discloses that language is dealt with in two interrelated ways: first of all, as a substantive head of legislation guaranteed in the Constitution to ensure cultural survival and evolution; secondly, as the object of incidental regulation in the course of the exercise of the various powers attributed by the B.N.A. Act to Parliament or to the provincial legislatures.

Ad hoc
measures

160. Statute law taking fully into account the cultural functions of languages is extremely rare in Canada. There is no general approach to the language problem in our laws apart from section 133 of the B.N.A. Act. Every measure is *ad hoc*. Usually language is regulated only as far as it is necessary to facilitate in bilingual situations the full exercise of jurisdiction over another competent subject-matter. Examples of such incidental legislation are provisions for interpreters, mixed juries, the language of proceedings before boards and commissions, the language of debate in municipal councils, the language of municipal by-laws or notices, and the language of a multitude of official forms, notices, and returns. Sometimes language qualifications for certain official, professional, or private² employments will be regulated, as will be the language of important private or semi-private documents such as collective labour agreements. This explains the somewhat haphazard, fragmentary, and even contradictory legislation on the subject. The exercise of incidental jurisdiction over language is not always necessary and tends to be unnecessary in areas which are homogeneous or where, by custom or practice, the use of language is well regulated. But where

¹ The Montreal Expropriation Bureau, the Quebec Workmen's Compensation Board, Quebec Social Allowance Commission, Electricity and Gas Board, Transportation Board, Highway Victims Indemnity Fund, Public Service Board, Liquor Board, Rental Board, Labour Relations Board, and Quebec Securities Commission.

² In some provinces there are laws governing language use in purely private activities—for example, in the mining laws of British Columbia and Ontario.

linguistic minorities are large, the legislator may have to provide for the linguistic aspects of sundry legislative measures.

161. We have mentioned the uncertainty as to the scope of substantive jurisdiction over language in Canada. Apparently this jurisdiction is shared in some degree by the provinces and the Parliament of Canada. There seems no doubt that both Parliament and the provincial legislatures can legislate at will in ancillary jurisdictions, subject to the limitations of section 133. Parliament cannot amend the provisions of section 133, even those which refer to its own operations or apply to federal courts. But so far as federal quasi-judicial functions are concerned, or subordinate legislation, or general administration, or any area which does not fall exclusively within provincial jurisdiction, it can theoretically regulate the use of languages in any way it sees fit. Conversely, the provinces enjoy similar jurisdiction over language in all provincial institutions and within all areas of provincial concern, from their legislatures and courts to their administrative practices and their systems of education, subject again, in the case of Quebec, to the terms of section 133.

Division of
jurisdiction

162. The conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing analysis of section 133 are self-evident. The section is not intended to secure fully the linguistic rights of the French-speaking or English-speaking minorities in Canada. At best it represents embryonic concepts of cultural equality, and it cannot be expected to provide for the many complex situations that must now be faced. Such language rights as are exercised in Canada are generally based on custom, practical considerations, political expediency, or result from the exercise of incidental jurisdiction. While we do not underrate the role of custom or of incidental legislation in fleshing out the existing provisions of the Constitution, we must not forget that these rights are not entrenched and thus can be abrogated at will. Nevertheless, we similarly cannot forget that this constitutional provision was the outcome and a basic guarantee of the substantial and worthwhile system of linguistic rights that had evolved in Quebec.

In summary

C. The Recognition of Language Rights in Canadian Practice¹

1. Statutory legislation

163. Section 133 of the B.N.A. Act requires all acts of Parliament to be printed and published in both English and French. Parliament has observed faithfully this requirement but its compliance has been

Language of
drafting

¹ Our documentation is based on a study by Claude-Armand Sheppard, "The Law of Languages in Canada" (See Appendix V), soon to be published by the Commission.

essentially literal. All officials interviewed confirmed that the universal rule for all federal statutes is that they are drafted in English only, in the Department of Justice, by an officer working with officials of the various departments involved in their preparation. The drafts are then submitted to the Legislation Committee in the Department of Justice, whose deliberations are also entirely in English. Any changes it may suggest will be in English only and relate to the English draft. It is only after completion and approval of the final text in the English language that the French version is prepared by the Law Translation Branch of the Translation Bureau. Usually the explanation given is that "statutes can only be drafted in one language" and that this language has to be English because the majority of officials who must be consulted are also English-speaking.

Translation 164. Legal translation in Canada is handicapped by its own peculiar difficulties. Traditional legal expressions found in one language, where they have a clearly defined meaning, sometimes have no equivalent in the other language. The problem is further compounded in Canada by the existence of two systems of law—the civil law and the common law—which sometimes use the same word to denote different legal institutions or, conversely, employ different terms to describe essentially identical notions. In addition, the translation of federal statutes also suffers from the fact that the Translation Bureau does not employ specialists. The original English version, on the other hand, is drafted either by, or with the help of, experts in the particular subject of legislation. The translators cannot rely upon any such assistance. Furthermore, the Bureau finds it difficult to recruit competent personnel. The result is that the French version of federal statutes is frequently a poor translation of the English text.

Language of publication 165. The publication of federal statutes is now done in separate English and French editions. There has been a Quebec demand that Ottawa follow the province's own example of printing the French and English versions side by side instead of separately. This would make reference from one to the other much easier and some experts believe that eventually the quality of both the English and French versions would be improved.

Private bills 166. It should be noted that private bills in English are not printed in separate French versions. We were told that this is because of lack of demand. The official French text is printed only when the annual volume of statutes is published. There is thus a period of time when private bills are available in only one language. The same is true in Quebec for the English version.

Quebec statutes 167. Public statutes in Quebec are also enacted and published in two languages. But there is no centralized drafting as for federal

statutes. The practice is for a bill to be drafted by the department concerned. As a rule, all public bills are drafted in French and then translated, which is the converse of the federal method and faces the same difficulties. Private bills are drafted in the language of their sponsors. Translation is decentralized as well; each department has its own translator. The practical problems of simultaneous drafting and of adequate translation are basically the same as in Ottawa. As for publication, the most notable difference between federal and Quebec practice is that the French and English versions of all provincial laws are printed side by side on the same page. On the other hand, while the federal *Hansard* is bilingual, with translations, its Quebec equivalent prints the original text as given in French or English, without translation.

2. Subordinate or administrative legislation

168. The absence of constitutional requirements as to language coupled with widely divergent practice renders the situation of subordinate legislation somewhat confused. Federal administrative law can be divided into regulations covered by the Regulations Act¹ and an enormous body of less formal regulations issued by various government bodies, either for their internal regulation, or as instructions or guides to the actions of officials or citizens. The line is sometimes hard to draw between the two categories. A further distinction must be made between regulations which the Regulations Act requires to be published in the *Canada Gazette* and those which for a variety of reasons are exempted from such publication. A Commission survey of 19 government departments, 7 intermediate agencies, and 24 boards and commissions disclosed significantly that there are considerable numbers of regulations which in fact or in law are exempt from publication. Citizens cannot find out about their existence from any central source but must inquire from the administrative bodies concerned. Only those regulations appearing in the *Canada Gazette* are likely to be bilingual.

Regulations

169. While all federal statutes are drafted by the Department of Justice, there is no such centralized drafting for subordinate federal legislation. As a rule, it is still drafted in the department or agency concerned, notwithstanding an attempt at increased control by the Department of Justice. Those regulations which must be approved by the cabinet and published in the *Canada Gazette* must first be presented in French and English versions to the clerk of the Privy Council pursuant to section 4 of the Regulations issued under the Regulations Act. The assistant clerk of the Privy Council and the translator who assists him finally revise and co-ordinate the English and French texts.

Drafting

¹ R.S.C. 1952, c.235.

170. All government bodies queried stated that almost every regulation is drafted first in English. This applies to both categories of regulations. In fact, when regulations are not required to be published in the *Canada Gazette*, they are generally not only drafted in English but also published only in that language; exceptions are rare. For such regulations, it would appear that a French version will not be issued unless it is judged absolutely necessary according to the varied criteria of the agencies involved. The two notable exceptions are the Post Office and the Air Transport Board. Some agencies seem to issue their regulations in French versions only if they apply to the province of Quebec. The practices are the same for lesser regulations not covered by the Regulations Act. Similarly, it seems that virtually all the original copies of the Orders-in-Council used by the cabinet to authorize executive action have been approved in English only, although they are eventually published in the *Canada Gazette* in both languages.

171. The general explanation given was that English was the mother tongue of the drafting officers or that there were few qualified French draftsmen. Past practice and practical considerations were also invoked. But the key factor was the language of the legal officers drafting the subordinate legislation. Indeed, while 25 per cent of the legal officers in the 19 government departments examined were said to be bilingual, it appeared that their bilingualism consisted essentially of a more or less satisfactory acquaintance with French and that very few had sufficient command of the language to draft in it. Our investigation also showed an almost universal habit of translating into French only after the final English draft had been approved. French seldom if ever enters into the drafting process of federal regulations.

The practice
in Quebec

172. A comparative study of Quebec practices in the drafting and publication of subordinate legislation indicated the situation was just the reverse: in practically all cases, subordinate legislation is originally drafted in French. The reason for this state of affairs in Quebec could not be the lack of knowledge of English by the legal draftsmen, since 22 of the 24 lawyers involved in drafting were described as fluently bilingual in both spoken and written French and English. But in all cases, legislation was translated into English only after the French draft was final. As for publication of subordinate Quebec legislation, in the absence of a statute equivalent to the federal Regulations Act, the situation depends on the practices of the individual department or on the requirements of the particular statutes governing it. Irrespective of publication in the *Quebec Official Gazette*, it would appear that the general tendency of boards and commissions in Quebec and of the provincial cabinet in issuing regulations is to do so in both languages,

although occasionally regulations are issued in French only and the Quebec Hydro-Electric Commission even indicated that some of its regulations were issued in English only.

3. *Judicial tribunals*

173. Section 133 of the B.N.A. Act allows the use of either of the two languages by any person in any pleading or process in all federal courts (Supreme Court of Canada, Exchequer Court and so on) and in all the courts of the province of Quebec (Superior Court, Court of Appeal, and so on). However, bilingual justice presents a multitude of difficulties. The problem may not be too severe in Quebec where most lawyers and judges, at least in the districts where the English minority is concentrated, have an adequate knowledge of both languages. But difficulties can arise within federal administrative tribunals, the members of which are only occasionally appointed from the Quebec Bar, and in the federal courts outside Quebec to which section 133 applies. Here, obviously, knowledge of French cannot be taken for granted. Furthermore, because most court proceedings have to be recorded, either by stenography or by some mechanical means, the problems arising from the scarcity of linguistically competent court stenographers are apparent.

174. The right to be able to testify in one's own language and the equally important right to understand fully the proceedings conducted in a language other than one's own are nullified if competent interpreters are not readily available when needed. In fact, the right to interpretation is not peculiar to a bilingual or a multilingual country and could be claimed by anyone who does not understand the language of the forum, even in a unilingual country. But while interpretation is granted as a matter of course in most countries when a party to judicial proceedings does not speak the language of the court, in a bilingual system of justice it may become a basic right whether or not the litigant understands the language of the court. Rather than a practical matter, it is transformed into a question of principle. And even from a practical point of view, understanding the language of the court and being able to testify and endure cross-examination in that language are not the same thing.

Interpretation

175. The Canadian Bill of Rights states that no Act of the Parliament of Canada shall be construed or applied so as to "deprive a person of the right to the assistance of an interpreter in any proceedings in which he is involved or in which he is a party or witness, before a court, commission, board or other tribunal, if he does not understand or speak the language in which such proceedings are conducted."¹ A

The Bill of Rights

¹ S.C. 1960, 8-9 Eliz. II, c.44, s.2(g).

number of other federal statutes or regulations contain similar provisions. There is thus no doubt as to the right of anyone appearing before a tribunal or a quasi-judicial body set up under federal law to demand the assistance of an interpreter when he is ignorant of the language used. It does not give him this right as a matter of principle if he is bilingual.

Provincial law

176. The laws of Canadian provinces are less explicit or sometimes altogether mute. Consequently, it has been left to the courts to determine the extent of the right in each province and to stipulate the conditions of its exercise. The rule has been laid down that there is no absolute right for anyone to have an interpreter: the judge has discretion to decide according to the circumstances. It should be remembered, however, that neither the civil law of Quebec nor the common law of the rest of Canada requires the use of *any* special language for private contracts and deeds, in the absence of statutory requirements. The courts will enforce any will or contract regardless of the language used, if adequate proof is made of its meaning.

Interpretation
in practice

177. An informal survey among members of the judiciaries and bars of all provinces and territories confirmed that in actual practice the Canadian system of interpretation is weak, improvised, and likely to lead to miscarriages of justice. The situation is not satisfactory even in Quebec although there it is alleviated by the widespread bilingualism of bench and bar. The problems were less acute in some provinces than in others, but in New Brunswick, for instance, a great deal of dissatisfaction was expressed with the language used before the courts. In fact, in some lower courts where all the parties and the magistrate were French-speaking, the case might be conducted entirely in French although any record made would be in English. Nor must the question of cost be ignored. In all jurisdictions, the Crown pays the costs of interpreting in criminal cases. But in civil cases, this onerous charge is borne by the parties and may inhibit seriously the exercise of their rights.

The Supreme
Court of Canada

178. At another level, the present organization of the Supreme Court of Canada raises a number of problems especially for residents of Quebec. The Supreme Court is important to them, not only because it decides fundamental constitutional issues, but because it is also the final arbiter of Quebec civil law cases. Yet only three of its nine members are required to be appointed from the bench or bar of that province. It is true that this imbalance may have been corrected in large measure by the practice adopted by the Court in 1950, whereby almost all civil code cases are heard by a five-member panel including all the Quebec judges, thus ensuring the latter a majority.¹ Be that as it

¹ In fact, 94 per cent of all Quebec civil law cases in the 1950 to 1964 period were heard by such panels. It must also be remembered that many cases coming from Quebec turn on points of common law (bills of exchange, administrative law, etc.).

may, and while both languages may be used before the Supreme Court, French-speaking litigants frequently feel themselves at a disadvantage because only the Quebec judges are fluent in French. The result is that many French-speaking lawyers feel compelled to prepare factums and argue orally in their second language.

179. Another aspect of the question relates to jury trial. The right to trial by jury is the right to be tried by one's peers. In some cases it is also the right to be tried by jurors speaking one's own language. This was considered sufficiently important in England from the 13th century until at least 1870 to entitle even aliens to demand a jury *de medietate linguae*—that is, half composed of aliens (though not necessarily of the same language as the accused). In Canada, there is no constitutional guarantee of trial by jury composed either entirely or partly of members of one's own language group. The narrow wording of section 133 of the B.N.A. Act certainly would have to be stretched almost unreasonably to interpret it as guaranteeing the right to a jury of one's own language. At present, the Criminal Code provides for mixed criminal juries only in Quebec and Manitoba. In Quebec, it is also possible to demand the right to be tried by a jury consisting entirely of citizens speaking either English or French, as the case may be. Quebec's Code of Procedure guarantees similar rights in civil cases. But no other jurisdiction allows for anything but English-speaking juries.

Trial by jury

4. *Administrative tribunals*

180. We have already referred to the growth since the beginning of the century of administrative boards and commissions exercising quasi-judicial functions. Those administrative tribunals not only assume the duties entrusted to them by modern social legislation—such as in the fields of labour law or pension rights—but also tend to take over the solution of traditional problems with which the ordinary courts have been unable to cope satisfactorily—such as workmen's compensation. In other words, we are witnessing both a new type of adjudication and removal of classes of jurisdiction from the traditional law courts to more efficient and less formal administrative entities.

181. Administrative justice is a comparatively recent development; it is not surprising that it was never envisaged by the Fathers of Confederation. The silence of the Constitution on this subject has led to some doubts as to the exact legal position of these administrative tribunals.

182. We have indications that both federal and Quebec boards and commissions as a matter of practice give varying recognition to the right of French-speaking or English-speaking citizens to use their mother tongue. But this practice is not based on any legal requirement.

Not only is the B.N.A. Act silent on the subject, but none of the statutes creating these administrative tribunals provides for the language of proceedings. Furthermore, none of these bodies appears to have issued linguistic regulations.

183. We made a study of 12 of the 15 leading federal boards and commissions. The mother tongue of 79 per cent of all their members was English. An extremely small number of these could read, write, or speak French well or fairly well. This made it nearly impossible for them to conduct hearings in French. The situation was aggravated by a lack of adequate facilities for interpreters and bilingual stenographers. On the other hand, all French-speaking members were found to be fluently or nearly fluently bilingual. Only 7 per cent of all cases were conducted in French, practically all of them emanating from Quebec. Of the decisions, 89 per cent were rendered in English and the remainder in French.

184. A comparison with Quebec is instructive. Its quasi-judicial tribunals are also not subject to section 133. But an examination of 12 important Quebec boards showed a rather different situation. While 94 per cent of their members were of French mother tongue, practically all of these were fluently bilingual. About 85 per cent of all proceedings were in French but English was said to be used "often." On the other hand, the facilities for interpreters and bilingual stenographers were not much better than with their federal counterparts. The proportion of decisions rendered in French was 87 per cent; English translations were frequently available. Quebec administrative tribunals appeared considerably better equipped to hear cases in both languages and in fact nearly 16 per cent of the cases were conducted in English—more than double the proportion of cases conducted in French before federal boards.

5. Public administration

185. As we have seen, there are no constitutional provisions governing the language of public administration either at the federal level or within the provinces. Such federal or provincial legislation as there is on the subject is generally incidental or secondary.

Public notices

186. The following conclusions can be drawn from a careful examination of all pertinent Canadian and provincial statutes. As far as public notices are concerned, federal law generally does not require that they be published in both languages except in Quebec. The general practice of Quebec is to require bilingual publication of all notices of a general nature and even of many special notices. Similar rules apply in some municipalities to signs, labels, and required notice boards. In all other provinces the language is English. Except within the federal

jurisdiction and in the province of Quebec, official forms and returns are required to be English but in Manitoba some employment records are to be kept in either English or French, according to the language of the employee. Ballots and other forms are normally bilingual only in Quebec.

187. When there are statutory linguistic requirements for government officials or professionals, such as river pilots or municipal councillors, the following situation was found: such federal laws as exist treat English and French almost equally, with a slight preference for English; in Quebec, both languages are generally on the same level; in all other provinces and territories, with almost no exception, English is the only qualifying language.

Statutory
linguistic
requirements

188. Finally, when the language of documents such as trade marks, negotiable instruments, and bills of lading is regulated, federal law places both languages on an equal level, at least in Quebec. Quebec itself requires the use of both languages. When there is no special law applying to them, in all provinces contracts and other private legal arrangements can be made in any language and will be enforced when proven. Persons who do not speak either English or French are not legally incapable.

Documents

189. The incorporation of companies in Canada is usually done by grant of letters patent emanating from either the federal or provincial authorities. Federal law provides for the incorporation of companies under French, English, or bilingual names and permits all official corporate activities to be carried out in either language. The situation is the same in Quebec. In other provinces there seems to be a willingness to allow French or bilingual corporate names, but otherwise companies seem to be required to keep their records and carry out their other official functions in English.

190. Many governmental activities in Canada are governed by federal-provincial agreements. These agreements are executive acts rather than legislative enactments, though they sometimes find support in statutes. In other words, they normally take the form of agreements entered into with Ottawa by the various provincial governments. These agreements are numerous and deal with the whole spectrum of public administration. The Commission's investigation disclosed that all agreements with common-law provinces are negotiated, drawn up, and signed in the English language only. For Quebec, the practice varies considerably, not only from department to department, but within departments themselves. Some agreements exist in official French and English versions; other agreements are drawn up in both languages, but one language has priority in the event of conflict; other agreements with Quebec are in English or in French only, with a more or less official

Federal-provincial
agreements

translation attached; still other agreements are unilingual and have no translation. At least one federal department reported that the French text of agreements was referred to its equivalent department in Quebec for full textual consideration. But in fact the policies relating to the language of official documents with Quebec vary enormously. Some departments even prefer to have agreements in French only in order to avoid any possible textual conflicts. Other departments insist on doing all their business in English.

191. The only province with which agreements are signed in French is Quebec. The other nine provinces never have signed the French text of a federal-provincial agreement. But not all agreements signed with Quebec are in French or even bilingual. Irrespective of the language of the ultimate text, the practice of federal agencies involved is to prepare the original draft in English only. But when bilingual texts are eventually signed, they seem to be treated as being of equal validity. A peculiar practice was discovered of having some federal-provincial agreements signed by some provinces in one language and by Quebec in the other language or in both languages. This is obviously an undesirable situation leading to possible conflicts. The same variations appear to exist in interprovincial agreements signed by Quebec with other provinces.

International
agreements

192. Canadian linguistic practices in signing international agreements are equally diversified. The final draft of all Canadian agreements is prepared by the Legal Division of the Department of External Affairs which also occasionally participates in negotiations. The Department has traditionally had the following rule: when Canada signs a treaty, at least one official text must be in either English or French. In January 1965, however, for the first time, Canada signed an agreement with a foreign country in both an English and a French version.¹

193. The Commission studied all international agreements entered into by Canada from 1928, when the country acquired virtual control of her external affairs, up to 1965. During that period Canada signed 239 bilateral agreements (that is, between Canada and one other country) and 228 multilateral agreements (between Canada and two or more countries). Of the bilateral agreements, only 25 (or 10 per cent) had one version in French. Moreover, 24 of these bilateral agreements had been signed either with France, or with Switzerland or Belgium where French is also an official language. In other words, Canada had used English, rather than either French or both languages, in practically all of her bilateral agreements. As for multilateral agreements, 162 (or 71 per cent) had at least one version in French. But the relatively large proportion of agreements in which both French and English are

¹ An agreement concerning automotive products, between the governments of Canada and of the United States of America.

official is not very significant since Canada may have little choice in the matter, and an increasing number of multilateral agreements are drafted as a matter of course in the five official languages of the United Nations, which include French and English.

194. Equally revealing are the figures for exchanges of notes between Canada and other countries. When Canada sends notes to another country, the Department of External Affairs has a wide discretion in the choice of the language to be used. A total of 463 notes exchanged during the 1928 to 1965 period were examined. Of these, only 22 (or 5 per cent) were in French. And of these 22 French notes, 18 were sent to France, Switzerland, or Belgium. In fact, it was found that even in dealing with French-speaking countries, it is not unusual for the Department of External Affairs to send its notes in English only.

195. A comparison with Quebec practices is revealing. Our enquiries about agreements made by Quebec with other jurisdictions revealed that in most cases when Quebec had signed with English-speaking jurisdictions in Canada or abroad, its agreements were in English only. A French translation is prepared for the government's own files, but it is not official. Agreements with French-speaking jurisdictions tend to be in French.

6. Municipal government

196. Under the B.N.A. Act, municipalities fall within provincial jurisdiction. But section 133 does not refer to them and there are no constitutional language guarantees governing their operations.

197. At the present time, all municipal corporations in Quebec are bilingual to some degree by virtue of purely provincial statutes. A certain degree of *de facto* bilingualism also prevails in some areas of New Brunswick and elsewhere in Canada.

198. All the more important cities and towns in Quebec that have been incorporated by special act of the legislature or by letters patent are governed by the Cities and Towns Act¹ which provides that all public notices must be drawn up and published in both languages. Only under the Municipal Code must the by-laws themselves be published in French and English, however, and this requirement can be waived by the Quebec government on request. There are no provisions for the language of debate in councils governed by the Cities and Towns Act: either French or English may be used at sittings of councils in municipalities under the Quebec Municipal Code.²

¹ R.S.Q. 1964, c.193. This statute governs where the incorporating document is silent.

² We have found that many municipalities publish by-laws in French only without having obtained the exemption required by law.

In Quebec 199. From a questionnaire sent to 34 larger Quebec municipalities, we received 17 usable replies. Only one municipality claimed that it always drafted its by-laws in both languages and nine of them stated that they published them only in French. Sixteen out of the 17 stated that the language usually spoken during council meetings was French. The minutes of all 17 were kept in French. All complied with the legal requirement that public notices be bilingual; posters and traffic and road signs were also generally bilingual. The situation was the same for safety signs and required labels. Sixteen of the 17 municipalities issued bilingual traffic tickets and other summonses. But approximately 90 per cent of all the correspondence or communications issued or received by them was in French. In the light of these facts it seems obvious that in those parts of the province where the population is overwhelmingly French-speaking, there would be little English used in municipal affairs.

In New Brunswick 200. In New Brunswick, on the other hand, a survey of five cities having large French-speaking populations showed that by-laws were published in English only, although occasionally notices were published in both languages. Correspondence was always in English except in the city of Edmundston which stated that 40 per cent of all correspondence was in French. But it should be recalled that, until recently, there were no language provisions in New Brunswick law.¹

Other provinces 201. Very little, if any, pertinent legislation is to be found in other provinces. But the Municipal Districts Act² of Alberta provides that no one can qualify for election to a municipal district unless he can read and write English. A similar provision is to be found in the Alberta City Act.³ In Manitoba, the charters of the cities of Brandon and East Kildonan require a knowledge of English for eligibility as mayor or alderman.⁴ On the other hand, the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act⁵ states that to qualify for election as a member of the metropolitan councils it is sufficient to be "able to read the English or French language and write it from dictation."

202. At the time of our survey there did not appear to exist any specific legal impediment for a municipality anywhere in Canada, no matter how small its linguistic minority, to use also a minority language in the conduct of its affairs. Our investigations have in fact shown that some municipalities in New Brunswick use French to a considerable extent.

¹ See above, footnote to § 119.

² R.S.A. 1955, c.215, s.85.

³ R.S.A. 1955, c.42.

⁴ S.M. 1955, 3-4 Eliz. II, c.86, s.7(1) and S.M. 1957, 5-6 Eliz. II, c.80, s.11(1)(b).

⁵ S.M. 1960, 8-9 Eliz. II, c.40.

D. Language Rights in the School System

203. As we have previously defined it, a language right is a specific legal protection for the use of a given language, which may include both the formal and the practical recognition of that language in the life of a country. The public school system is a vital area for the expression of this right inasmuch as education is the front line of defence for the language and hence for the cultural existence of a people. Under the Constitution the organization of the school system is a provincial responsibility. Where the French- or English-language group is in the majority, the laws and institutions relating to the language of instruction would be expected to correspond to the aspirations of the majority group. Thus in Quebec the French-speaking majority attaches a particular importance to the proper learning of the French language as an essential instrument for the full development of the French culture.

204. To determine the status accorded to each of the two official languages, it is necessary to examine the degree to which each language is protected in the educational systems of the provinces where it is the language of the minority group. We are principally concerned here with the status of French, and with the access afforded to Francophones outside Quebec to their language and culture. The protection afforded the English language in Quebec is such that the situation of the English-speaking minority in that province can scarcely be compared with that of French-speaking Canadians elsewhere.

205. In the earliest days of British rule the French-speaking and English-speaking communities developed separate schools in their own language to meet their own needs. When in 1840 the Act of Union proposed to make one state of the two societies in Upper and Lower Canada, a common school system was found to be unworkable. The independent religious schools in Lower Canada, Roman Catholic and Protestant, which had been recognized by the legislature in 1824, and which received state support, and the basically Protestant system with its few Roman Catholic institutions in Upper Canada, were maintained.

Separate schools

206. The B.N.A. Act, section 93, assigned control of education to the provinces, but nevertheless protected denominational rights as they existed by law at the time of Confederation, and any infringement on the educational rights of religious minorities could be redressed by the Dominion Parliament. This did not guarantee the English and French languages as languages of instruction in the school system, however, and it was only in the province of Quebec that these separate legal rights for Roman Catholics, who were predominantly Francophones,

and for Protestants, who were predominantly Anglophones, at the same time protected *de facto* but not *de jure* English and French as languages of instruction. In no other province at the time of Confederation did this coincidence of language and religion enable the maternal language of the pupils in separate schools to have an equivalent protection. In Ontario, for instance, the denominational guarantee did not make the French language secure as the language of instruction in separate schools because of the number of English-speaking Roman Catholics in that province.

207. Except in British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, where there are no denominational schools, the provinces which have been created or which have joined the union since Confederation have recognized in varying degrees the principle of separate publicly supported schools, based on religion. These rights can be found in the original constitution of Manitoba, 1870, until their abolition by provincial law in 1890; in the constitutions of Saskatchewan and Alberta on their creation, 1905; in the terms of admission of Newfoundland in 1949; and in various federal laws applicable in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. The emphasis in every instance, however, has been on confessionality rather than on language, and when the Privy Council decided in 1917 that the separate schools were based on denominational and not linguistic differences, the confessional school ceased in the law of the Constitution to provide any clear guarantee for the use of a particular language.

Language of
instruction

208. Provincial legislation is often surprisingly inconclusive about the language of instruction in the schools. In most provinces the schools act or its equivalent makes no reference whatsoever to the language of instruction; thus in the Atlantic Provinces, in Quebec, in Ontario, and in British Columbia, neither English nor French is given a special legal status in the relevant legislation.¹ The schools acts of the three Prairie Provinces are exceptional, for in these statutes English is declared to be the official language of instruction. Since the amendments of 1967, however, French may be used as a language of instruction with specific permission, for periods up to half the instructional time per day, in

¹ The Education Act, R.S. Nfld. 1952, c.101.

The School Act, R.S. P.E.I. 1951, c.145.

The Education Act, R.S. N.S. 1954, c.78.

The New Brunswick Schools Act, R.S. N.B. 1952, c.204 and 1966, c.24.

Loi de l'Instruction publique, R.S.Q./S.R.Q. 1964, c.235.

For Ontario: The Department of Education Act, R.S.O. 1960, c.94.

The Public Schools Act, R.S.O. 1960, c.330.

The Schools Administration Act, R.S.O. 1960, c.361.

The Secondary Schools and Boards of Education Act, R.S.O. 1960, c.362.

The Separate Schools Act, R.S.O. 1960, c.368.

Public Schools Act, R.S. B.C. 1960, c.319.

Manitoba, and to a lesser extent in Saskatchewan.¹ With the exception of these two provinces, the provincial statutes are silent on the right of the official-language minority to receive instruction in its own language in the provincial schools. One must turn to current practice to discover the *de facto* language rights of these minorities in education.

209. In spite of the lack of legal protection for English as a language of instruction in the schools, Quebec continued to respect the unwritten tradition that associated language rights with religious rights.² The history of language privileges in the schools of the other provinces has been very different, and such opportunities as do exist have been achieved by the vigorous and persistent efforts of the French-speaking minority. Even though at times there was co-operation or at least tacit consent from provincial officials, these efforts most often met great financial hardship and administrative difficulties.

E. Conclusion

210. This brief survey of language rights in Canada reveals the wholly inadequate way in which present laws give effect to the concept of the country as an equal partnership between two linguistic communities. It is certainly true that language rights have been gradually recognized through the years and still continue to expand. But this evolution has been intermittent and has suffered numerous setbacks. There does not exist a fully developed linguistic régime expressing the bicultural character of the country as a whole and based on well defined and fully accepted legal rights.

¹ The Public Schools Act, R.S.M. 1954, c.215, s.240, and S.M. 1966-7, c.49.

The School Act, R.S.S. 1965, c.184, s.209 and S.S. 1967, c.35, s.11.

The School Act, R.S.A. 1955, c.297, ss.190, 385, 386 (am. S.A. 1964, c.82, s.43), 387.

² This respect for "acquired rights" has been maintained down to the present time in Quebec. The Parent Commission, which recommends a great many proposals designed to modernize and consolidate the programme and institutions of education in that province, continues to adhere to the principle of state-supported education, Roman Catholic or Protestant, with either English or French as the language of instruction, according to the wishes of the parents.

211. So far we have described and explained the present state of bilingualism in Canada. The second part of this book will deal with the future of the official languages in Canada. In a general way we shall outline the measures that the public authorities should take to assure an equal status for English and French. After first weighing the experiences of various foreign countries we shall suggest what the public authorities should do, in the immediate future, to put certain guiding principles into practice. We shall suggest the action required at each level of government, and the transformation necessary in the language régime of the federal capital. Later, we shall show how, at the provincial level, such action might be extended to education. In a final chapter we shall set out, first, the constitutional amendments we consider necessary if English and French are to have equal status, and, second, the legislation we think essential to set up a régime of linguistic equality in Canada.

212. In short, we are recommending a new status for the official languages in Canada. We do not propose merely to paper over an unsatisfactory situation: we shall present a new concept of an officially bilingual country in which the two official languages will have new rights and better guarantees. It therefore becomes a question of genuine linguistic planning.

A new status

213. To many the notion of linguistic planning will no doubt appear new and untried. In all fields not governed by section 133 of the B.N.A. Act, Canadians are accustomed to linguistic disorder. Indeed, many of them—especially those living in unilingual areas—scarcely ever become aware of this disorder and of the difficulties, sometimes very serious, which result from it. In the course of our inquiry, we have continually encountered these difficulties, and in the preceding pages

we have tried to show the inconsistencies and inequalities caused by the near-absence of clear and specific rules. We believe that henceforth formal rights must replace simple tolerance and makeshifts. In place of the present *de facto* bilingualism, more or less precarious, constantly debated, and unequally accepted from one region to another, there must be official bilingualism.

The official
languages

214. The expression "official language" can be ambiguous: the word "official" has various meanings, as the most commonly used dictionaries reveal. *Petit Larousse* defines "official" as "all that is announced, declared, ordered by a recognized authority"; *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines it as "properly authorized"—a more concise definition but one that has the same meaning. In this general sense, any decision of a competent authority—a minister or deputy minister—would be official. In Canada, common usage has often given a more restricted meaning to the term when it refers to languages. Indeed, the term "official" is used for institutions affected by the B.N.A. Act, especially the federal and Quebec Parliaments, statutes, and courts. Thus it is often said, "Quebec is the only officially bilingual province" because it is the only province mentioned in section 133 of the Constitution. The guarantee protecting French and English in Quebec is not subject to arbitrary decisions of officials, ministers, or governments, or even of a particular legislative assembly; it has, therefore, the maximum degree of permanence. Without accepting this restricted usage, the Commission will bear it in mind: we shall call "official" only the most firm and unequivocal provisions concerning language—that is, provisions promulgated by political authority and confirmed by statute. Thus, in our view, a language will be official only to the extent that it has received such legal protection. Official bilingualism—that is, the recognition of English and French as official languages—evolves from the sum of rights expressly guaranteed to English and French by laws protecting their use.¹ We are not here contesting the importance of custom, still less the decisions which political authorities incorporate in regulations. Moreover, it is only in relation to languages that we will be using the word "official" in this specific sense.

215. As we have seen in Chapter III, Canada is to some extent an officially bilingual country, due mainly to section 133 of the B.N.A. Act. But it is incompletely bilingual, especially if we judge the present situation by the yardstick of the equality of the two official languages.

¹ Under this definition, any province which has any law protecting the use of both languages is in some degree "officially" bilingual. However, in this Report, for convenience we will apply the term "officially bilingual" to provinces only when the sum of language rights corresponds to those defined in the new section 133 (2) which we will propose. (See §418.)

216. In this chapter we begin by looking closely at some of the countries which have to face language problems similar to Canada's. Following that, we shall attempt to deduce guiding principles for a truly viable Canadian bilingualism.

Two preliminary
operations

A. The Experience of Four Other Countries

217. As we pointed out earlier (§38), only a few countries have accorded full equality to their linguistic minorities. For particular study we selected four of these countries—Finland, Belgium, Switzerland, and South Africa.¹ In examining their individual problems and solutions we sought not so much a ready-made blueprint for Canada—for each country is unique—but rather increased understanding of the linguistic principles adopted in such countries; we hoped to find ideas that could be valuable, and to learn about approaches to be avoided.

218. In Finland there are two main languages: Finnish and Swedish. The two languages have had many years' experience of association—for 600 years present-day Finland was part of the kingdom of Sweden. Only in modern times, however, have they existed in a state of legal equality. Earlier, Swedish, as the language of learning, administration, the church, and commerce, had characterized the educated classes, and more particularly the civil service, the clergy, and the economic élite. From about 1840, the forces of Finnish nationalism began to gain momentum. The movement culminated in the 1919

Finland

¹ See Appendix V, pp. 20-211, for a list of studies of these four countries made for the Commission.

constitution. Both Finnish and Swedish were declared national languages of Finland, and citizens were guaranteed the right to use either language in their relations with the administrative authorities. Article 14 of the constitution also provided that “care shall be taken that the rights [of both populations] shall be promoted by the State upon an identical basis.”¹

219. This sweeping promise of equality is at first sight surprising, since the minority group who spoke Swedish accounted for only 11 per cent of the population in 1919. Admittedly they had formed 14 per cent in 1880, but by 1960 this proportion had declined to 7 per cent, or 331,000 persons in a total population of 4,100,000. Yet, while the numerical strength of the Finnish-speaking citizens explains the comparative rapidity with which they established parity with those speaking Swedish, the past pre-eminence of the latter largely accounts for the present position of formal equality between the languages. Another factor is the usefulness of Swedish in increasing contacts between the Nordic countries: the status of Swedish is an affirmation of Finland’s position as one of these countries.

220. Though it was not always so, language rarely seems to be a subject of serious discord in Finland nowadays. Given the smallness of the Swedish minority and the lack of widespread individual bilingualism (some 11 per cent had a knowledge of the two languages in 1960), it is accepted on both sides that the equality spoken of by the constitution should be implemented principally by regions. Such a territorial principle restricts an individual’s right to receive services in his own language to certain defined districts. As the Swedish-speaking community is for the most part concentrated in the coastal areas and in certain cities and towns rather than scattered across the country, this is not as great a restriction as it might first appear.²

¹ Article 14 reads in full: “Finnish and Swedish shall be the national languages of the Republic.

“The right of Finnish citizens to use their mother tongue, whether Finnish or Swedish, before the courts and administrative authorities, and to obtain from them documents in these languages, shall be guaranteed by law; care shall be taken that the rights of the Finnish-speaking population and the rights of the Swedish-speaking population of the country shall be promoted by the State upon an identical basis.

“The State shall provide for the intellectual and economic needs of the Finnish-speaking and the Swedish-speaking populations upon a similar basis.”

² The extent of this concentration may be seen in the 1960 distribution of Finland’s 548 communes according to the proportion of their total population formed by Swedish-speaking inhabitants.

<i>Size of Swedish-speaking group</i>	<i>Number of communes</i>
90% and over	46
50% to 89.9%	33
10% to 49.9%	11
Less than 10%	458
	<hr/> 548

221. The commune is the unit of local government in Finland. It will be officially bilingual if it includes in its territory a linguistic minority of at least 10 per cent of the population or at least 5,000 persons. If the proportion of the minority is smaller, the commune will be unilingual in the language of the majority, whether Finnish or Swedish. For administrative purposes, one or more communes may form a district; this will be unilingual if all the communes making it up are of the same language. But if there are bilingual communes or communes of different languages, the administrative district will be considered bilingual. School districts, whose boundaries do not necessarily coincide with those of administrative districts, are similarly organized: for more than a given number of students who speak Finnish or Swedish, an education in their own language must be assured.

222. This, in very broad outline, is how the people of Finland have established linguistic equal partnership. By impartially subjecting minorities of both language groups to the territorial principle, on the basis of the most recently available census figures, they have met their constitutional requirement of official equality. Yet at the same time they have never lost sight of the practical limits imposed by the country's demography and history on the provision of equal service.

223. In contrast to Finland, Belgium has two language groups of almost the same size.¹ Moreover, between 1910 and 1947, the last year in which the Belgian census employed a question on the language most frequently used, the proportion of the two major linguistic groups remained roughly constant. Those speaking Dutch formed 52 and those speaking French 43 per cent of the total population in 1910, while in 1947 the figures were 53 and 42 per cent respectively.² About 18 per cent of the total 1947 population of 8,500,000 were bilingual. The total population in 1963 had risen to 9,300,000. Linguistically the country may be divided into three regions: the area to the north of a linguistic frontier that runs across the country is mostly inhabited by Flemings, the area to the south of it by Walloons, while in and around the capital, Brussels, and along the frontier are linguistically mixed communes.

Belgium

224. As in Finland, the smaller linguistic group—those speaking French in this case—was dominant until recently, for several reasons.

¹ A further contrast lies in the absence in the Belgian constitution of 1831 of a declaration of equality between the languages. The only article, 23, having to do with languages reads as follows: "The use of the languages spoken in Belgium is optional; it may only be regulated by law and only in the case of acts by the public authorities and of legal matters." As will be seen later, however, language usage in recent decades has been extensively regulated by legislation.

² About 1 per cent of the population in 1947 spoke German and 4 per cent other languages. German-speaking Belgians enjoy a special minority status in a few areas along the eastern frontier.

In part this had to do with the status of the two languages. French is an international language of great prestige; Dutch, on the other hand, is understood by relatively few people outside the Low Countries. French was also the language of the social élite on both sides of the linguistic frontier: language differences thus embodied class differences. Moreover, there was an economic and a religious division. The predominantly French-speaking south developed its industries when Flanders was still largely agricultural and, while both parts of the country were Roman Catholic, the north was more rigid in its practice and tended to regard the south as a hotbed of anticlericalism. To some extent, these attitudes gave rise to differences in political outlook; Walloon country was traditionally more "left" than Flanders.

225. Even if the social, economic, and educational disparities of the last century have now largely disappeared, it would appear that sufficient mutual mistrust and hostility remain to prevent any great co-operation between the two groups. The French-speaking population of the south, now faced with the obsolescence of its early established industries and with the growing political power of the Flemings, is still steadfast in its refusal to learn Dutch. For their part the Flemings, taking this refusal as a slight on their language, are increasingly refusing to shoulder alone the burden of communication.

226. It is within such an unpromising framework that the Belgian government has had to shape its linguistic legislation. The present system is based on four laws passed in the 1930s, dealing with language in relation to the civil service, education, the administration of justice, and the army. Instead of improving the situation, the first two of these caused further controversy. The reluctance of the population to accept some of their provisions and the absence of controlling authority to ensure the laws' full application rendered the legislation largely ineffective.

227. In 1963 the government introduced a new set of laws. Following the general philosophy of the older ones, they are however more rigid and provide fewer exceptions. They also specify a kind of control or agency, "La Commission permanente de contrôle linguistique," to police their enforcement fairly and impartially. Basically, the legislation requires the physical separation of the two language groups by encouraging even further the natural division of the country into two officially unilingual areas. To the north of the now fixed linguistic frontier, administrative services are available in Dutch only; to the south only French is to be used. Similarly, all schools in receipt of public funds must use as their language of instruction either Dutch in the north or French in the south. Matters of concern to the whole country will continue to be announced bilingually, and Brussels and its

surrounding areas are given a special bilingual status. In other words, Belgium has sought to reconcile animosity between its two major groups through the introduction of a territorial principle that separates one language from the other geographically except in the capital area. By guaranteeing and stabilizing the use of Dutch in the north and French in the south, it is hoped to still each group's fear of the other.

228. Switzerland is perhaps the best known example of a plurilingual state. Since the adoption of the federal constitution of 1848, German, French, and Italian have each enjoyed the status of official languages despite the considerable disproportion in the numbers of Swiss citizens speaking them.¹ At the 1960 census, of a population of 5,400,000, Swiss nationals with German as their mother tongue totalled 74 per cent, while the French- and Italian-speaking groups formed only 20 and 4 per cent respectively.² Each of the three languages, it should be noted, is spoken in countries contiguous to Switzerland, and this to some extent makes up for the numerical disparity of the languages in Switzerland.

Switzerland

229. Switzerland is a federal state. The central government is officially trilingual, but 21 of the 25 cantonal units making up the federation are unilingual. Seventeen have German as the official language, three have French, and one Italian. We see thus that Switzerland, officially multilingual—as it really is on the federal level—is, in fact, made up principally of unilingual regional entities, German, French, or Italian; even the four cantons not officially unilingual—three are bilingual and one trilingual—nevertheless reflect this national characteristic in that they are mainly composed of unilingual zones with bilingual institutions at the level of cantonal government.

230. The language problem in Belgium is exacerbated by the fact that social, economic, and religious differences coincide with the linguistic division, but Switzerland is different. For example, of the 17 German-speaking cantons, eight have a Protestant and nine a Roman Catholic majority, while two of the three French-speaking cantons are predominantly Protestant and one is mixed.

231. If these overlapping factors have tended to foster relative linguistic peace in the country, so too has respect by the majority group for the rights of the minorities. This respect may be seen in the operation of the Swiss version of the territorial principle which draws

¹ Article 116 of the Swiss constitution, as amended in 1938, reads as follows: "German, French, Italian, and Romanche are the national languages of Switzerland. German, French, and Italian shall be deemed the official languages of the Confederation."

² A fourth language, Romanche, is spoken by 1 per cent of the population and was given the status of a national language in 1938. It might also be noted that this distribution by language has scarcely changed over time. In 1880, German was the mother tongue of 71.3 per cent of the total population, French of 21.4 per cent, Italian of 5.7 per cent, and Romanche of 1.4 per cent.

its source not so much from statutory law, as in Finland and Belgium, but rather from the long tradition of cantonal autonomy. Each canton, no matter how small or weak, has a recognized right to defend its own special linguistic and cultural character against harmful outside forces and even to expect federal assistance in doing so. The traditional language of the canton is thus the language of its administrative services and schools. The migrant from one canton to another is expected to learn the language of his new milieu and, if he stays, to assimilate fully in the next generation by educating his children in the local schools.

232. This of course applies equally to the German-speaking Swiss coming to a French or Italian canton and to the French- or Italian-speaking Swiss going to a German canton. An interesting case in point is the school issue in Bern. Although the capital of a trilingual country and located in a bilingual canton, the city of Bern has German as its sole official language and its schools use German as the language of instruction. However, a 15-year campaign to secure public funds for the one private French-language school recently achieved partial success. This amounts to a breach of the territorial principle, which was accepted because of the position of Bern as federal capital. However, the breach is not likely to be widened for, while the territorial principle may work against minorities within a canton, it is apparently valued as assuring the survival of the French and Italian minorities in the nation as a whole by guaranteeing them unilingual cantons of their own. It should also be noted that the relatively small size of the cantons permits their boundaries to correspond generally with the linguistic distribution of the population.

233. At the level of cantonal government, language usage is based on the territorial principle. At the federal level, however, a "personality principle" applies. Service is to be given in the individual's language no matter where he lives.¹ Thus, while a French-speaking citizen in a German canton is expected to conduct his business with the canton in German, in his contacts with the federal government he may use his mother tongue. Inter-governmental relations are conducted in the language of the canton.

South Africa

234. Like Finland, South Africa² has made explicit constitutional provision that its two official languages, English and Afrikaans, "shall

¹ The other principle, that of territoriality, limits to specified regions the individual's right to public services in his own tongue.

² In 1960, the total population of South Africa was 16,022,797. However, the Commission's studies of this country have concentrated primarily on the linguistic and cultural factors relating to the white population and thus the following discussion must be taken to cover this population alone. The white population in 1960 counted 3,088,492 persons, or 19.3 per cent of the total population.

be treated on a footing of equality.”¹ As in Belgium, the two main linguistic groups of the white population are comparatively well balanced in size: in 1960, some 58 per cent declared Afrikaans to be the main language spoken in their homes while English was spoken by 37 per cent. This represents a 2 per cent increase of those speaking Afrikaans since 1936 and a corresponding decrease in the numbers speaking English. The remaining 5 per cent of the white population in 1960 spoke both official languages or other languages at home. A further point of similarity between South Africa and Belgium is the international weight of one of its languages and the insularity of the other.

235. South Africa differs linguistically from the countries so far considered mainly in three respects. First, bilingualism in English and Afrikaans is widespread: approximately two-thirds of the white population claimed a knowledge of the two official languages in 1960.² Second, as in Canada, neither language is indigenous to the area; both have been introduced or developed by settlers from Europe. Third, while the régimes in the preceding three bilingual states were based on the natural or fostered existence of unilingual areas, in South Africa the two linguistic groups are relatively mixed. Each of the four provinces has a linguistic minority of 23 to 39 per cent of its white population. Whereas only a quarter of the Canadian population lives in census districts with an official-language minority of 10 per cent or more, in South Africa nearly seven-eighths of the white population is so situated.³

236. At the time of union in 1910, English was the predominant administrative language; today it is Afrikaans. Among the diverse factors contributing to this changeover are weight of numbers, the growing urbanization of the Afrikaners, and their rising educational level. Also important has been the determination of the Afrikaner nationalist movement that Afrikaners should take their due place in the decision-making circles of the country; in recent years the government has actively encouraged them to do so.

¹ Section 137 of the South Africa Act reads in full: “Both the English and Dutch languages shall be official languages of the Union, and shall be treated on a footing of equality, and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights, and privileges; all records, journals and proceedings of Parliament shall be kept in both languages, and all Bills, Acts, and notices of general public importance or interest issued by the Government of the Union shall be in both languages.” Section 137 is an entrenched clause and may not be amended unless “passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together, and at the third reading agreed to by not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of both Houses” (section 152). In 1925 the requisite majority was obtained to pass an amendment whereby “the word Dutch in section 137 . . . is hereby declared to include Afrikaans.”

² This bilingualism is extensive in both language groups: roughly 7 out of 10 of those who spoke Afrikaans at home and 6 out of 10 of those who spoke English indicated that they knew both languages.

³ In Canada the average population size of census districts in 1961 was 76,473; in South Africa the average in 1960 was 60,559.

237. For its white population, South Africa does not employ any form of the territorial principle. Instead, in fulfilment of its constitutional guarantee, it has adopted a personality principle. As in Switzerland, each citizen uses his own language in dealing with government authorities.¹ However, in contrast with the Swiss system, each child must be taught in school classes of his own language or, where the numbers are too small to form a class, at least by a bilingual teacher who can help him along with explanations in his own language.

238. The personality principle in South Africa has been made necessary by the interpermeation throughout the country of the two large language groups; it has been made possible by the high level of bilingualism existing both outside the civil service and within it. As far as we can discover, this is a unique combination of circumstances and has given rise to a unique approach to linguistic equality.

239. We should stress, before concluding, that the principle of territoriality is a theoretical concept and that the Finnish, Belgian, and Swiss systems present no "pure" or complete expression of it. Rather, all three more or less admit some considerations of personality. In Finland, Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking citizens have certain linguistic rights in judicial proceedings no matter where they live. The centralized governmental services of Belgium in some cases leave choice of language to the person concerned. Nevertheless, these two countries lean heavily on the territorial principle. In Switzerland, on the other hand, with its federal and cantonal levels of government, both the principles of territoriality and personality may be discerned, each within its own defined sphere.

Summary

240. In each of these four countries, we have found a number of important factors, such as the international status of the official languages, the language or languages spoken in adjacent countries, the coincidence of linguistic with other social differences, the attitude of one group to another, and the political structure, whether federal or unitary, of the country. Many influences have come into play in determining their institutional expression of linguistic equality. Two points worthy of further discussion are the roles played by the geographic distribution of the linguistic groups and by the level of individual bilingualism.

241. The principle of territoriality is clearly apposite when a bilingual country consists predominantly of unilingual regions (Belgium and

¹ It might be noted that the government is located in no single capital city. Instead, the South Africa Act provided for "a seat of Government" in predominantly Afrikaans-speaking Pretoria, a "seat of the Legislature" in predominantly English-speaking Cape Town, and placed the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein, a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking city. Accordingly, the civil service is located at Pretoria, the legislature at Cape Town, and the appellate judiciary at Bloemfontein. This division represents the compromise reached at the time of the Union between the various claims to the national capital advanced by the colonies involved.

Switzerland) or mainly so but with a few linguistically mixed areas (Finland). It has two advantages: the minority language is guaranteed priority in some areas and a large majority of the total population may be served in its own language. However, where members of the two language groups are widely scattered across the country, as in South Africa, a principle of personality rather than of territoriality is considered more appropriate.

242. The proportion of the population that can speak the official languages is also relevant. As we know, South Africa has an exceptionally high percentage of bilingual persons and this makes possible the application of the principle of personality. That is, a citizen may use his own language in dealing with public authorities throughout the country. On the other hand, Finland and Belgium, with a rate of individual bilingualism comparable to the Canadian figure of 12 per cent of the population, have inclined towards a principle of territoriality.

243. Finally, the relative size of linguistic groups seems to have little to do with the successful development of equal partnership. Although the two main groups are reasonably balanced in Belgium and South Africa, the minorities in Finland and Switzerland are small. In all cases, however, a formula had to be found to deal with the language problem.

244. It will be noted that each of the four countries discussed bears some resemblance to Canada, and each is somewhat different from Canada, as well as from any of the others. If we look carefully at the most central similarities and differences, we can begin to discern in broad outline how far the various types of language régime existing elsewhere would be appropriate to the Canadian situation. We may expect that the application to Canada of any of the principles that we have discussed would necessarily involve—as it has in other countries—adapting them to suit the particular institutional context.

245. Certain broad similarities between Canada and the other four countries stand out at the start. Each has the problem of the coexistence of two or three major language groups, and the legal and constitutional structure of all five has accorded official status to the languages concerned. But the similarities are soon overshadowed by the contrasts, and it is to these that we now turn our attention.

246. In the first place, the constitutional and legal terms of the recognition given the official languages in the other four countries have established a more fundamental principle of equality than has section 133 of the B.N.A. Act. In addition to this basic principle, Belgium and Finland in particular have firm, precise legislation, to which there is no equivalent in Canada, in such key realms as education and the public service. We shall come back to this point later on.

Application
of these principles
to Canada

247. Canada differs sharply from South Africa in both the level of individual bilingualism and the pattern of distribution of official languages throughout the country. Only 12 per cent of Canadians claim to be bilingual, as against 66 per cent of the South African white population. Canada's official-language minorities make up less than 14 per cent of the population in nine provinces out of ten; in South Africa the official-language minorities range from 23 to 39 per cent of the provincial populations. Canada therefore would find it difficult to pursue effectively a policy of the South African type, where a full range of governmental and educational services is provided in both official languages in all provinces of the country. Such a thorough-going policy seems not to be required in many parts of Canada; but more important, our present linguistic resources are no doubt inadequate to carry it out.

248. Canada's geographical distribution of language groups seems in general to be closer to those of the three European countries that we have examined. Her level of individual bilingualism is broadly comparable with those found in Finland and Belgium, while Switzerland has no census data on bilingualism. On the other hand, Belgium and Switzerland are older societies whose linguistic frontiers have in general remained extraordinarily stable for centuries. In these countries, the principle of territoriality has rested upon the concept of a permanent linguistic frontier, which has been stabilized in Switzerland by means of natural mountain barriers and long-standing custom, and in Belgium through legislation. However, in North America today the population is so mobile that it would seem unrealistic to adopt a rigid principle of this type, even if it were deemed desirable.

249. There is no doubt that Canada can draw some inspiration and understanding from the varied experience of language régimes in other countries. In particular the Commission intends to borrow and to adapt into the Canadian context an idea from Finland.¹ However Canada, like any other country, must develop a formula tailored to its own nature and needs, and adjusted, for example, to its federal system. Since this involves coming to grips with a very complex reality, we know in advance that this formula cannot be a simple one.

B. The Canadian Reality

250. A new status for Canada's official languages will thus be acceptable only if the proposed solution respects Canadian reality in all

¹ There, as we have noted above, each commune is classified as unilingual Finnish, unilingual Swedish, or bilingual, according to the linguistic proportions of its population, and the linguistic régime is flexible in that the list is revised after each census to reflect population changes.

its breadth and diversity. The first aspect of this reality is the existence of an English-speaking and a French-speaking community, whatever the ethnic origin of their members, or their distribution throughout Canada.

251. Population studies show that 58 per cent of all Canadians have English as their mother tongue and 28 per cent have French. The mother tongue of the remaining 14 per cent is neither of the two official languages. These are the percentages we shall go by—always remembering, however, that they overestimate the strength of the “other” languages and reduce the size of the English-speaking group.¹ Population studies also tell us there are areas of the country where one of the two official languages is spoken to the virtual exclusion of the other. They also remind us that there are vast regions inhabited by English-speaking or French-speaking minorities, some large, others small, some concentrated, others scattered. We shall therefore have to respect these two basic facts: in some areas one of the two official languages is completely dominant; in others the two language groups interpenetrate.

252. The adoption of uniform criteria for defining these unilingual areas is a factor in treating the two official languages equally. We believe each group would find the absence of its language more acceptable in one area if the rule were applied to the other official language in other areas.

Unilingual areas

253. This idea could have far-reaching consequences. Narrowly and rigorously applied, it would lead in the direction of an official French unilingualism in Quebec and an English unilingualism in the other provinces, with bilingual federal institutions in the centre: it would be a

Minority groups

¹ The replies to the census questions regarding the official languages, “Do you speak English? Do you speak French?”, reveal the following proportions in 1961: 67.4 per cent of Canadians speak English only, 19.1 per cent speak French only, 12.2 per cent speak the two languages and only 1.3 per cent speak neither English nor French. Of the bilingual respondents, 70 per cent are of French origin. In §51 we have noted that the “official languages” category is fluid: for instance, a person who claims to know English can be of British extraction, of any other origin though Anglicized, or a recent immigrant who has difficulties in English but nevertheless who is considered to be unilingual English. This is the problematical aspect of the “official languages” category. Nevertheless we have gone through approximate calculations by which we estimate that the ambit of English covers about 69 per cent of Canadians and that of French about 30 per cent, while a little more than 1 per cent of the population is unable to communicate in either of the official languages. If we now compare the census data on mother tongue with our own calculations regarding the official languages, we arrive at the following proportions:

	<i>By mother tongue</i>	<i>By official languages</i>
English-speaking	58%	69%
French-speaking	28%	30%
Others	14%	1%

In all probability the reality—that is the number of people for whom English, French, or another language is the working or main language—lies somewhere between the above proportions.

triumph for the territorial principle based on provinces. Such a solution would doubtless have the advantage of simplicity and would follow the tradition established in several English-speaking provinces. However, it would lead to the recognition of only the majority's rights and to oppression of the official-language minorities. As an immediate consequence it would deprive minority groups *en bloc* (the English-speaking in Quebec and the French-speaking in the rest of the country) of essential language rights. It would place them in a situation of sharp inequality in areas where they have been long established; they would be affected in their daily lives, in activities and situations in which they are more directly involved than they can be in central institutions. We do not and should not approve equality in privation for members of the two groups when they form minorities at the provincial or local level. Injustices do not become acceptable because they are equally shared.

254. This approach could lead to the acceptance of a principle that institutions should be generally unilingual, and that bilingual institutions would be exceptions consented to only when there is no other choice. Such a principle would be particularly unjust and oppressive, for it would run counter to deep historical and social realities in our country. It would also be very difficult to apply, despite things we have been told, because minority bitterness provoked by French unilingualism in Quebec would be added to the present discontent aroused by English unilingualism of varying degrees in the English-speaking provinces. Perhaps each form of frustration would appear to some people as a just compensation for the other form, but the minorities thus deprived would find little consolation in that idea. Thus we reject any such means of trying to lessen the tensions affecting Canada.

Our guiding
principle

255. Instead we shall take an approach determined by the realities of Canadian life. In the various fields and jurisdictions to be considered and in conformity with what we hope will be the future spirit of Canada, *we take as a guiding principle the recognition of both official languages, in law and in practice, wherever the minority is numerous enough to be viable as a group.* This is a positive conception of equality, under which language rights of official-language minorities are respected and come into force whenever circumstances permit; that is, when a language group is large enough to exercise them. Evaluation of the "circumstances" will be the only problem; each case will need its own assessment. It should not be a matter of applying the principle blindly without taking account of any difficulties in particular instances. In short, we have adopted an approach aimed at attaining the greatest equality with the least impracticality.

In all provinces

256. Questions will come up in all provinces of Canada, for every one of them, without exception, has a minority speaking one of the official languages. Every province demonstrates the linguistic complexity

of Canada: from Newfoundland and British Columbia where the French-speaking minorities are less than 2 per cent of the population, to New Brunswick where the minority is 35 per cent, and Quebec where the minority of English mother tongue is 13 per cent. There are about 700,000 Canadians in Quebec whose mother tongue is English and some 850,000 scattered throughout the rest of the country whose mother tongue is French.

257. For the former it is a matter of obtaining clear and lasting confirmation of rights enjoyed and exercised for two centuries, but which a segment of Quebec opinion is now challenging. According to the definition stated above, Quebec is officially bilingual through the provisions of section 133 of the B.N.A. Act. Moreover, a well-established tradition of respect for the rights of the English-speaking minority, and statutes and regulations which go beyond section 133, have made Quebec bilingual officially and in practice—in relations between provincial administrative bodies and citizens as well as in local public activities where appropriate.

In Quebec

258. The situation is quite different for the French-speaking minorities. In some provinces, we find a degree of recognition of the French language; here we can speak of *de facto* bilingualism. For example, the Public Service Commission, since the 1961 Public Service Employment Act, has taken into account areas in some provinces where a significant minority speaks French, and several Canadian provinces, notably Ontario and New Brunswick, have granted a certain recognition to French consisting mainly of compromises, particularly in education. However, comparison of these situations with that in Quebec shows that this *de facto* bilingualism is very fragile. It is often at the mercy of intolerance on the part of local or regional majorities, and it puts constant strain on those minority groups inevitably forced to fight for its implementation. Actually, the language of the official minorities in these regions has survived only because of the intense determination of individuals and groups. Despite immense sacrifices and frustrations incurred by those concerned, the price has been inferior institutions which will condemn these groups to linguistic assimilation if the situation is not remedied quickly. Therefore we must find solutions assuring that both the French-speaking minorities outside Quebec and the English-speaking minority in Quebec are able not only to exist but to thrive.

In the other
provinces

259. Wherever he may live, man comes into almost daily contact with government. Generally he does so through employees or representatives of various governments; for example, he deals with the postman or the customs officer, the public school teacher, the policeman, the public health officer, and so on. Most of the time he does so without noticing that he is moving from one level of government to another.

260. Because he has to communicate in speech or writing, the language question arises each time. In a unilingual area there is no problem. However, when there are two languages in the same area—and especially when one is a minority language—difficulties can arise in a hundred different ways. For example, there is the person who speaks only the language of the minority and who cannot talk to his neighbours of the other language. Then there is the person with only a rudimentary knowledge of the majority language, who necessarily finds communication in it difficult and incomplete. Others, who can speak both languages adequately, are unwilling to have to set aside their own, which is also official, in dealing with a government. Acute tensions often result. When it becomes usual for the language of the minority to receive little or no recognition in a given region, the minority reluctantly falls into line. It is especially in these situations that governments exert an influence on language: they bring all their weight to bear on the side of the majority language, thereby hastening the linguistic assimilation of the minority.

Governments
influence language

261. It is not easy to measure this influence; in fact, it can seem minimal if each contact is considered separately. For a Francophone to be forced to exchange a few words in English, if he can, with a postal clerk or a railway employee may seem of no great concrete importance. But if we add up the number of times a citizen must use language when dealing with the various agencies of government—if we consider the decisive

role language plays in the schools, if we think of the influence of the mass media controlled by the state—then we must conclude that the influence of public authorities on the use of language is deep and strong.

262. In seeking improved conditions for minority-language groups, we must therefore think first of action by government in all its forms. Language reforms at the federal, provincial, and local levels will all be necessary, since only co-ordinated and simultaneous action in all three fields can make measures in each fully effective. The provision of federal government services in both official languages would be useful, but such measures would be incomplete if the many vital responsibilities of provincial and local governments were disregarded. Our task is “to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership.” This principle cannot be applied to the federal government alone; the “existing state of bilingualism . . . in Canada” must mean much more than the existing state of bilingualism within the federal government’s sphere of responsibility.

263. Thus the Commission is following its terms of reference in addressing itself to all three levels of government, even though in so doing it will be formulating recommendations for governments which did not request them.¹ We proceed in full knowledge of this fact. Nor do we forget that each provincial government, like the federal government, is sovereign in its own field, and that the local governments receive their authority from the provinces.

264. Naturally we shall not propose the creation of new services (in the way that postal service, hospitalization, or unemployment insurance are services offered to the public). We shall deal with the language in which these services are or will be provided—that is, with the language régimes which will prevail at the three levels of government.

The plan of
this chapter

265. In this chapter we shall describe the linguistic régimes which we believe will be appropriate for each level of government.² Next, we shall deal with the necessity of establishing regional language areas which we shall call bilingual districts. These districts will be of major importance in our total plan. Finally, we shall touch briefly on the special language problems associated with the existence of the federal capital. The topics of the four sections of this chapter will thus be the language régimes for the federal level, the provincial level, the bilingual districts, and the federal capital.

¹ However, the provincial governments agreed to collaborate with our inquiry on the subject of education.

² We shall not deal with the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. These vast, thinly-populated territories, which are under federal jurisdiction, have their own political structures and are changing rapidly. Thus we believe it advisable to leave the federal government to decide the practical implications for these areas of the proposals we are going to make for the rest of the country.

A. At the Federal Level

266. Only federal institutions are common to all Canadians. Since they belong to all of us, French- and English-speaking alike, they must faithfully reflect Canada's linguistic duality throughout the country.

267. We do not conclude, however, that official bilingualism must operate to the same degree everywhere. Rather, the same right must exist everywhere; the protection offered by the right will come into effect whenever circumstances warrant, in accordance with criteria we shall propose.

268. No other part of the Commission's terms of reference appears to us to be more urgent. If we wish "to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership" between the two founding peoples, bilingualism becomes essential first in the institutions shared by all Canadians. This conclusion is inescapable. Any other way of imagining the future of our country would show a total lack of concern for equality. Equality is unthinkable if there is even one part of the country where the status of French as well as that of English remains open to dispute in the federal sphere.

269. The Constitution formally recognized both French and English in 1867 in the federal field (and in Quebec). However, it has become evident to us that this recognition was incomplete in many respects and often disputed where the French language was concerned. If the principle of equality is accepted today, this situation must be changed without delay, and the equal status of the two languages must be established without shadow of doubt. The implicit must become explicit. This is the foundation upon which the federal language régime of the future can be built.

270. Therefore, **we recommend that English and French be formally declared the official languages of the Parliament of Canada, of the federal courts, of the federal government, and of the federal administration.**

271. This equality of the French and English languages must be complete and must apply also to all bodies and agencies deriving from Parliament and the federal government. It must be indisputable; otherwise we shall simply revert to the arguments of the past. The consequences of applying this principle at the federal level are substantial.

272. No Canadian, French-speaking or English-speaking, will feel that the language of his group is considered equal to the other official language if he does not find it used in such basic institutions as Parliament and the Supreme Court, in the statutes and important regulations governing his activities, and in all the documents of general interest that the central government issues. Both languages are used in

these fields, but much more remains to be done. Neither Francophone nor Anglophone can feel that he lives in a bilingual country where the two official languages are treated as equal, if his own language does not occupy an honourable place, in law and in practice, in the federal government and the central administration of the country, in the army, and in the image which Canada projects abroad.

**The sense of
identification**

273. These are the minimum requirements to be respected. Some at first glance appear quite distant from the citizen's daily concerns; for example, most Canadians will never attend the debates in Parliament or be involved in a case before the Supreme Court; many will have no contact with the army or with the embassies. However, it would be quite wrong to consider that these institutions do not personally concern every Canadian. For there are such things as the sense of belonging, and of needing to identify with the most prestigious or simply the most visible institutions of the society to which one belongs. Beyond simple allegiance to one's country, there is the dimension of identification. To ensure this sense of identification, each of the two official languages must have its due place in the principal institutions of the federal government. For we must remember that language is more than a means of communication; it is the means by which the individual expresses his personality, shares in the activities and feels a part of his environment.

At home

274. Undoubtedly an English-speaking Canadian will have difficulty in grasping the importance of this identification because for him it is so easy and spontaneous. An Anglophone, greeted in English when he visits Parliament, feels at home; if a Francophone—even one who understands English perfectly—heard only English in “his” Parliament, that Parliament would seem foreign to him.

Abroad

275. Similarly, in its contacts with other countries, the federal government must assert the bilingual character of Canada, and this involves much more than our embassies. All departments and federal agencies dealing with foreign countries—such as External Affairs, Trade and Commerce, Industry, Manpower and Immigration, Labour, Finance, and National Defence; Air Canada, the CBC, and the National Film Board—must be able to do so in French and English.

**Agreements with
the provinces**

276. The federal government constantly makes agreements with the provinces. At present, in the provinces with an English-speaking majority, the documents are drawn up in English only; agreements with Quebec are drawn up sometimes in both official languages, sometimes only in French, sometimes only in English. We do not feel this is proper, at least when important agreements are concerned. Either all agreements should be drawn up in both official languages or the policy should be to use, in all negotiations and drafting, the language of the

provincial majority—that is, French for Quebec and English for the other provinces. Or, perhaps, in officially bilingual provinces, both should be used.

277. Other requirements are of a more immediate, practical nature. The administration in Ottawa must be able to communicate adequately with the public in both languages. All government publications, as well as forms and notices, must be simultaneously available in either language. Federal government offices and Crown corporations across the country must be able to deal with people in either French or English. For example, in the immigration and customs offices at all ports of entry, in important transportation terminals, on Canadian National's trains, and on Air Canada's airplanes¹—everywhere, even in the completely unilingual sections of the country, where there is contact with the travelling public—services should be available in both languages as a matter of course.

278. The federal government has at its disposal other means of recognizing the two official languages. It is in a position to use agreements and contracts negotiated with provinces, municipalities, and private organizations to require compliance with its own laws—for example, with respect to minimum wages. We think it should do the same in the field of bilingualism.

279. These changes can be made without forcing a single citizen, Francophone or Anglophone, to learn the other official language. For the most part these changes will cost little. We shall deal in another Book with the more far-reaching changes needed in the Public Service.²

B. At the Provincial Level

280. We wish to repeat that our mandate leads us to formulate recommendations to provincial governments which did not request them. In this respect these recommendations are different from those

¹ Language use in privately owned public services will be dealt with in another Book.

² Canadians seem generally to be in agreement that federal services should be available in both languages. This is revealed in the results of a cross-country survey conducted for the Commission by the Social Research Group in the summer of 1965. Several thousand people in all provinces were chosen by scientific sampling methods so as to be representative of the Canadian population. They were personally interviewed in their homes by the field staff of an independent survey company about their attitudes on many questions. Concerning questions of language rights and use, 83 per cent of the respondents (77 per cent of the English-speaking Canadians and 96 per cent of the French-speaking Canadians) thought "All citizens of Canada should be able to deal with the federal government either in French or in English, whichever they choose." The proportion of French-speaking Canadians agreeing with this statement remained noticeably the same throughout the country, while the proportion of English-speaking Canadians varied from 90 per cent in Quebec, to 81 per cent in Ontario and the Atlantic Provinces, to 73 per cent in the four western provinces.

directed to the federal government. Nevertheless, our recommendations to the provinces remain recommendations in the fullest sense and represent our conviction that their implementation is necessary if the objectives stated in our terms of reference are to be realized.

281. The provinces are much more than simple geographic units; they are an essential element of the federal system, and the B.N.A. Act grants them exclusive jurisdiction in several important fields of government. Indeed, these powers are such that some people consider the term "state" to be justified when referring to provinces.

282. A preliminary question emerges concerning the provinces: do French and English become official in all the provinces as soon as they are declared the two official languages of the country?

283. It seems that a large body of opinion is already prepared to accept this. In fact, the Social Research Group¹ found that 60 per cent of its respondents endorsed the statement: "English and French should be the two official languages of all provincial governments in Canada." Even though the question applied to all the provincial governments rather than to one or only some, we find it remarkable that 91 per cent of the French-speaking respondents and 48 per cent of the English-speaking were in favour. Among English-speaking Canadians, the percentage of favourable replies varied from 72 per cent in the Atlantic Provinces to 46 per cent in Quebec, 51 per cent in Ontario, and 37 per cent in the four western provinces.

284. After pondering the matter, we have come to a double conclusion. On one hand, all the provinces are parts of a bilingual country; all those who live in them have certain language rights deriving from official bilingualism at the federal level. Further, since every province has an official-language minority, we believe each should recognize the linguistic rights of this minority.

285. On the other hand—and this particularly impressed us in our travels across the country—each province has a very lively sense of its own individuality; this is true of most residents and still more so of the provincial governments. Further, one of the main reasons for the existence of provinces is their capacity for dealing with the particular needs of the people who live in them. In contrast with federal institutions, the institutions of any one province are not common to all Canadians. It is obviously important to take into account different provincial needs and conditions.

286. In summary, we believe all the provinces should accept official bilingualism in their jurisdictions, though to degrees which in practice will vary according to the prevailing demographic conditions. Once more, linguistic demography will be our guide.

¹ Already mentioned in the footnote to §279.

287. We begin by rejecting a proposition that in our eyes is unacceptable—that is, the provision of services in the minority language only to the extent that the minority requests. A system of that kind would constitute no real guarantee; it would be at the mercy of more or less arbitrary interpretation by the authorities of the day. Moreover, we have noted earlier that in a province where services have never or rarely been offered in the official language of the minority, the minority may by force of habit have resigned themselves to the situation even when they considered it unjust. We need more objective criteria than this, criteria founded on something more tangible. We therefore turn to the demographic map of Canada and the information it provides regarding the distribution of the larger official-language minorities.

1. Quebec, New Brunswick, and Ontario

288. The dominant fact of our population maps (Maps 1 and 2 in Chapter II) is the concentration of the official-language minorities (both French and English) in three provinces: Quebec, New Brunswick, and Ontario. It is immediately obvious that Anglophones are a minority in Quebec only. As for the French-speaking minorities—that is, the Francophones living outside Quebec—three-quarters of them live in Ontario and New Brunswick. In each of these three provinces the official-language minority represents a large community. The 1961 census shows:

697,402 Canadians in Quebec whose mother tongue is English;
 425,302 Canadians in Ontario whose mother tongue is French;
 210,530 Canadians in New Brunswick whose mother tongue is French.

Numerically, the French-speaking minority in New Brunswick is the smallest. Proportionally, however, it is the largest—35 per cent of the total population of that province. The official-language minorities in Quebec and Ontario, on the other hand, constitute 13¹ and 7 per cent of the population respectively.

289. The 853,000 people of French mother tongue living in provinces other than Quebec, together with the 697,000 of English mother tongue within Quebec, make a total of 1,550,000 Canadians of both official languages living in minority situations. Of these, 1,330,000 live in the three provinces mentioned above. If each of these provinces declared itself officially bilingual, 89 per cent of all Canadians belonging to official-language minorities would live in a province where their language was officially recognized.

¹ The mother-tongue criterion minimizes the size of the English-speaking minority; the majority of Canadians whose mother tongue is neither French nor English adopt English as their usual language, even in Quebec. See §51, and the footnote to §251.

290. If we consider the two linguistic groups in the country as a whole, the implications of such a declaration are striking. As far as Anglophones are concerned, the present situation would remain: *all English-speaking Canadians* would live in a province which recognizes English as an official language. The situation of the French mother-tongue minorities would be less ideal, for they live in all provinces. Nevertheless, *95 per cent of all Canadians of French mother tongue* live in Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick—83 per cent in Quebec, 8 per cent in Ontario, and 4 per cent in New Brunswick.¹ Moreover, as we emphasized in Chapter II, most of the French-speaking citizens of Ontario and New Brunswick live in areas adjacent to Quebec: the geographical contiguity of French-speaking residents is almost unbroken. In these adjoining areas their linguistic and cultural vitality shows the most strength and durability. Here the rate of retention of French is the highest. Although French social institutions in these areas are sometimes embryonic, their development is more advanced than anywhere else outside Quebec. Finally, it is in Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick that the linguistic majority groups seem, on the official level at least, to show the most understanding towards their official-language minorities. We are thus justified in concluding that in these three provinces the factors favouring official bilingualism are both numerous and strong.

291. At the moment Quebec is the only province in which the official-language minority receives full recognition. No matter what the historical or economic justification for this situation may be, it appears more and more of an anomaly. What is less and less acceptable is not so much that Quebec, with its large English-speaking minority, is officially bilingual, but that, despite their sizable French communities, Ontario and New Brunswick are not. This flagrant inequality must be corrected as soon as possible if we are really to achieve equal partnership in Canada.

292. In summary, many circumstances combine to make special cases of Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick, and we should treat them as such. Canada's official-language minorities are concentrated in these provinces; the Francophones live in a certain geographic contiguity. Quebec is already officially bilingual. Proportionally, New Brunswick has the largest minority (35 per cent) of any province. In absolute figures the French mother-tongue minority is the most numerous in Ontario (425,000), where it is almost as large as the rest of the French-speaking minority throughout the country (428,000).

¹ Most of the remaining 5 per cent will be covered by other measures. See §§296 ff.

293. Therefore we recommend that the provinces of New Brunswick and Ontario themselves declare that they recognize English and French as official languages and that they accept the language régimes that such recognition entails.

294. There are no constitutional obstacles to such a declaration since the provinces, with one exception, enjoy complete freedom in language matters. The exception is Quebec, which alone is subject to the provisions of section 133 of the B.N.A. Act.¹ We shall later propose an amendment to this section, to make it applicable in the future to New Brunswick and Ontario. However, it would be highly desirable for these two provinces to take the initiative and declare themselves officially bilingual as soon as possible. Constitutional amendments take time, especially when they require the unanimous consent of Parliament and the provincial legislatures. Meanwhile the proposed declaration would put the French-speaking minorities in New Brunswick and Ontario on a level of equality with the English-speaking minority in Quebec. It would also be the first step towards a new version of section 133, since it would assure the consent of the two provinces most directly concerned.

295. Moreover, the declaration would demonstrate forcefully that the French language in Canada is not confined to Quebec; there would be no further justification for speaking of the Quebec "reserve" or "ghetto." By accepting linguistic equality, both Ontario and New Brunswick could help change the climate in which many of the current discussions are taking place. New Brunswick would show it is not ignoring the substantial French-speaking minority living in the province. Ontario, a key province because of its role in history, its population, and its wealth, would be doing the same for a proportionally smaller French-speaking minority. The moral effect of such actions would go far beyond the boundaries of these two provinces.

2. *The other provinces*

296. Each of the remaining seven provinces has a French-speaking minority; together they contained about 216,000 citizens of French mother tongue in 1961, distributed as follows: Manitoba, 61,000; Alberta, 42,000; Nova Scotia, 40,000; Saskatchewan, 36,000; British Columbia, 26,000; Prince Edward Island, 8,000; Newfoundland, 3,000. Recalling the figures quoted for Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick is sufficient to show how the order of size has changed. We can also see how the numerical importance—in absolute numbers as we have just seen, or in percentage of the total population of the

¹ See §136.

province—varies greatly among provinces: Prince Edward Island, 8 per cent; Manitoba, 7 per cent; Nova Scotia, 5 per cent; Saskatchewan, 4 per cent; Alberta, 3 per cent; British Columbia, 2 per cent; Newfoundland, 1 per cent.

297. In none of these cases did the official-language minority seem large enough for us to suggest that these provinces give full effect to all the recommendations we are making for Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick. Nevertheless we believe that these French-speaking minorities have indisputable language rights by virtue of the principle of equality, and that the provinces consequently have certain immediate obligations to them.

A measurement
for the future

298. The demographic situation is changing, however. The Canadian population is more and more on the move. At the moment this does not apply so much to French-speaking Canadians for various reasons, of which the most important may have to do with language. If the reforms we shall later propose (notably in the field of education) aid in the disappearance of the language obstacle, it will then be possible for larger numbers of French Canadians to live anywhere in the country. We can well imagine the day when the French-speaking minorities in one or more of the seven other provinces will become more numerous. What criterion should we then use to decide whether a province is to become officially bilingual: number or proportion?

299. Absolute figures can be very important. In the General Introduction we pointed out that certain undertakings become possible and certain institutions become viable when a group reaches a certain number, even if it forms only a slight proportion of the provincial population. Thus the French-speaking minority forms only 7 per cent of the population of Ontario, but represents a community of 425,000 people, while in Prince Edward Island 8 per cent of the population represents only 8,000 French-speaking citizens. Accordingly, we find in Ontario a French daily newspaper, several French radio and television stations, and two bilingual universities, while in Prince Edward Island equivalent facilities are simply not feasible.

300. The populations of the seven provinces in question are so unequal¹ that the criterion of absolute numbers could hardly have the same meaning for each of them. We would have to propose a different figure in each case. What would be the value of a criterion which changed from province to province? For these provinces, then, we must reject the criterion of absolute numbers.

301. This leaves the criterion of proportion, which we feel is more appropriate. Certainly the population of a province is considered and

¹ In 1961, the population of the smallest province of the seven, Prince Edward Island, was 105,000 and of the largest, British Columbia, 1,629,000.

assessed in terms of itself. Again comparing Prince Edward Island and Ontario, a population of nearly 8,000 is insignificant in the most populous province but counts for a great deal in the smallest one. We might thus lay down the following rule: provinces in which the official-language minority reaches or exceeds a certain percentage of the total population will become officially bilingual. This percentage would be the same for all provinces.

302. What percentage? Criteria, like the meaning of words, are by definition arbitrary. The choice in the present instance will depend on one's basic philosophy. At the beginning of Chapter IV we stated why the concept of official-language minority is to be respected. In this spirit we examined the various proportions suggested to us. These ranged from 5 to 20 per cent. We considered the first too low: generally, in a province where the official-language minority formed only 5 per cent of the population, the number of areas where its presence has any significance would really be too limited. It would be difficult for it to supply the number of skilled personnel necessary to establish a bilingual provincial system (for example, in the judiciary and in education). We reached this conclusion after examining the situation in each province. On the other hand, to require as much as 20 per cent appeared too demanding. If we applied it to every province, only New Brunswick would qualify, and neither Quebec nor Ontario would be officially bilingual. Even though we have adopted the criterion of absolute numbers instead of percentages for both Ontario and Quebec, the fact remains that the proportion of the English mother-tongue minority in Quebec is 13 per cent and that of the French mother-tongue minority in Ontario is 7 per cent. Therefore, it seems sensible to adopt the proportion of 10 per cent as a general rule.

A proportion
of 10 per cent

303. Consequently we recommend that any province whose official-language minority reaches or exceeds 10 per cent declare that it recognizes French and English as official languages and that it accepts the language régime that such recognition entails.

304. It is possible that a situation similar to Ontario's—in which the consideration of absolute numbers should take precedence over that of percentage—may develop in the future. Such a specific case should then be examined on its merits.

3. The language régime for the officially bilingual provinces

305. We have now to consider the practical consequences for a province which declares itself officially bilingual: what language régime will be appropriate and what obligations will such a province have to assume?

Quebec's
experience

306. A rapid examination of the only experience in official bilingualism undertaken by a Canadian province, Quebec, will be useful here. Quebec is officially bilingual by virtue of section 133 of the B.N.A. Act and a host of other laws and customs which go beyond the Constitution.

307. First we must state what this example does not mean. A century and more of official bilingualism has not made the majority of the inhabitants of Quebec bilingual. Indeed, 75 per cent of those people in Quebec whose mother tongue is French and 70 per cent of those whose mother tongue is English have remained unilingual.¹ The French-speaking majority has the lower percentage of bilingual persons, despite the dominance of English in North America and the exceptionally favourable social and economic position of the English-language minority in Quebec. Even with these two powerful advantages which English enjoys, three-quarters of the French-speaking majority in Quebec know only their mother tongue. From this we can certainly conclude that official bilingualism in a province, while presupposing a number of bilingual people in key positions, does not force the majority of its inhabitants to become bilingual. To recommend that French and English become official languages in Ontario and New Brunswick, as they are in Quebec, is therefore not to suggest that all citizens of these two provinces should or will become bilingual.

308. Still, expecting Ontario and New Brunswick to aim at a Quebec "model" is asking much of their governments. Quebec has allowed two educational systems, one in French and the other in English, to exist side by side at all levels, from kindergarten to university.² Parents of both language groups enjoy the right to have their children taught in their own language and in this sphere we have an example of complete equality.

309. Any citizen of Quebec, Francophone or Anglophone, may deal with all provincial agencies or departments in either language. Most of the Quebec government's official publications and forms appear in both languages. Under the Municipal Code either French or English may be used in council meetings; all documents and records including by-laws may be in either language but their publication must be in both languages unless the minister of Municipal Affairs has granted an exemption. For larger municipalities governed by the Cities and Towns Act, each council may determine its own proceedings but public notices must be given in French and in English.

¹ These figures are based on data furnished to the Commission by D.B.S.

² As everyone knows, the present systems are divided primarily along confessional lines. Roman Catholics can be educated in either language, but French-speaking Protestants occupy a much smaller place in the Protestant system.

310. This does not at all prevent the cities and towns of Quebec from opting out of the legal requirements for bilingual by-laws without actual prejudice to their taxpayers, whenever the composition of their population so justifies. Even if Quebec's official bilingualism answers the needs of the important English-speaking minority as a whole, it is flexible enough to avoid useless expenditure of funds and energy where the local English-speaking minority is either very small or non-existent.

311. We cannot, however, draw absolute rules from Quebec practices because they have been evolving since the Conquest in 1760 and have been long accepted by custom. Furthermore, the conditions under which the minorities live, their size, and their general situation, as well as the prestige of the two languages, are not the same in Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick. In each province the proportion of bilingual people in both the majority and minority groups differs greatly. We know in advance, therefore, that the practical consequences of official bilingualism will not be the same in the three provinces. To attempt to predict the nature of these consequences would be sheer guesswork. However, despite the foreseeable regional variations, we propose to outline the minimum degree of recognition and services which a province will have to provide if it is to call itself officially bilingual.

312. In principle the two languages must have completely equal status in all three provinces, even though we know that in practice English will occupy a larger place in New Brunswick and still larger in Ontario, while French will predominate in Quebec. This means that the equality of the two languages is beyond dispute, but at the same time this equality will be realized only as circumstances permit. For example, the use of both English and French is permitted in the legislative assembly of Quebec; this is an absolute right.¹ However, since the French-speaking members outnumber the English-speaking members, in practice French dominates in the debates. Nevertheless, the right to speak both languages has a practical importance and a symbolic value. The English-speaking member can express himself in his own language, since he feels more comfortable using it, and in doing so he is exercising an established right: nobody can accuse him of speaking a "foreign" language. By possessing and exercising this right he is able to feel at home in a province whose majority is French-speaking.

313. An officially bilingual province must first legalize the use of both English and French in the debates of its legislature. As well, the laws and principal regulations of that legislature must be published in both languages and the same must apply to its records, minutes, and journals.

A common
language régime :
1. Equal status

2. The legislative
function

¹ The same now applies in the New Brunswick legislature as well.

3. In the public service

314. Being an officially bilingual province entails establishing in the provincial administration certain services in the minority language as they are needed in the central provincial administrative offices and in branches located in bilingual regions. The dominant working language of the public service in New Brunswick and particularly in Ontario will still be the language of the majority, as it is in Quebec. But each bilingual province will have to grant its minority the right to deal with the government in the official-minority language and to receive an answer from the provincial offices in this language.

4. In the judiciary

315. A province which has declared itself officially bilingual must also provide certain judicial services in the minority language, and take the necessary measures to assure that these services cover appeals to higher courts. As these will involve important changes—in the procedure of these courts and in the composition of the magistrature—it would be best to apply them progressively as cases come up from the lower courts.

316. Most of the obligations we have just listed—except those dealing with the legislature—are designed to assure these services to the members of the official-language minority principally in the bilingual regions. The implications will become clearer when we later examine “the bilingual district.”

5. In education

317. The notion of an officially bilingual province necessarily entails further obligations in another field—that of education. We shall discuss these more fully in Chapter VI. However we must emphasize at this point that each bilingual province must organize its educational system to serve its two language communities.

On the practical level

318. We have described in general terms the language régime which will prevail in the officially bilingual provinces. Except for our proposals for the legislatures, which could be implemented quickly, neither New Brunswick nor especially Ontario could establish such a system overnight. In practical terms, the conversion of a province to an officially bilingual status means setting in motion a process by which the province progressively approaches the procedures and norms current in Quebec. New Brunswick and Ontario are being asked to show a readiness to undertake immediate reform in the legislatures and to begin a process which will introduce the system as soon as possible into the public administration, the courts, and education. The degree of effective bilingualism that these provinces attain will depend on the number and importance of the bilingual regions within their borders.

Predominance of the majority language

319. We stress again that the term “officially bilingual province” does not imply that most of the inhabitants must become bilingual. It is inevitable that the language of the majority will predominate, and that the degree of predominance will depend on numerical proportions.

Clearly, English will be more dominant in Ontario than in New Brunswick. This predominance should, in our view, have this consequence: even if the linguistic minority of a province finds itself in the majority in some region of the province, no part of Ontario or New Brunswick should be considered solely French-speaking, just as no part of Quebec should be regarded as solely English-speaking. All services offered to the public of a province must be available locally in the language of the provincial majority and also in that of the local majority. For example, although Francophones form 94 per cent of its population, the county of Madawaska in New Brunswick would be considered bilingual. However, services expressly directed to one of the two language groups—for example, in education—can be offered in one language (the language of the provincial majority or minority).

320. Quebec has the only government on this continent elected by a French-speaking majority. Its responsibility is therefore exceptional. The subject will recur constantly in this Report, but here it concerns the responsibility for an official language, for the quality of the language used, and for the practical and symbolic affirmation of French. We believe it would be in Quebec's own interest to scrutinize its language practices, especially in its relations with the federal government and with the other provinces. In §191 we noted that in concluding agreements with the other governments Quebec has been inconsistent in its choice of language. For example, it seems surprising that Quebec used only English in drafting certain agreements. It should be the general rule to use both languages in all important interprovincial documents involving Quebec and for all federal-provincial agreements. However, if all provinces with an English-speaking majority continue to deal with Ottawa in English only, then Quebec should do so in French. The important thing is that Quebec should have a clear and definite policy in these matters.

Quebec's
particular
responsibility

321. In our thinking on this subject we have largely followed the Quebec "model." Of course, nowhere in New Brunswick or Ontario is there a French-speaking population comparable to Montreal's large and socio-economically influential community of Anglophones. However we preferred to base our conclusions as far as possible on an actual and long-established pattern. We have emphasized that the Quebec system, while generous and coherent, has remained flexible and imposes no needless burden on anyone. Moreover, it is very complex, and quite different situations exist side by side. The English-speaking community of Montreal, with its collective wealth and remarkable institutions of all kinds, forms 71 per cent of Quebec's official-language minority; however, more than a quarter of this minority live in very

different conditions in the Eastern Townships, in Pontiac County, and in the Gaspé. If Ontario and New Brunswick agree to declare themselves officially bilingual, both might usefully examine more closely than we could the ways a wide variety of practical problems have been resolved in Quebec.

Negotiations
between the
provinces

322. We believe that it would be in the interest of the three provinces to consult and negotiate among themselves, within the framework of our recommendations. Through discussions in common, beginning at the highest level and continuing between the departments involved, they could, each without sacrificing any autonomy, define concretely the régimes that they expect to provide for their official-language minorities. They could discuss the help they might give each other in various fields. We hope that in this way the common future of the official-language minorities in the three provinces—where 89 per cent of their members live—may be decided with the greatest realism and generosity.

323. There is no escaping the fact that we are proposing major reforms for New Brunswick and Ontario. We are asking them to treat their official-language minorities as Quebec has treated hers for more than a century.

4. The language régime for the other provinces

324. Under our conception of the future Canada, these seven provinces will not have to adopt the kind of language régime we have outlined for Quebec, New Brunswick, and Ontario. This does not mean that they must be considered unilingual. They too must take steps based on the recognition that official-language minorities live within their borders. **We recommend that the provinces other than Quebec, New Brunswick, and Ontario declare that both English and French may be used in the debates in their legislatures and that these provinces provide appropriate services in French for their French-speaking minorities.** As a result of some of our later recommendations they also will be required to take steps with respect to bilingual districts and educational facilities for minorities.

325. Manitoba and Nova Scotia appear to us to be particular cases. The French-speaking people in Manitoba, some 61,000 persons, have a long history in the province and at one time enjoyed extensive educational and linguistic rights. The French-speaking community in Nova Scotia is relatively concentrated, has long-established roots in some regions, and has close practical ties with the French-speaking community in New Brunswick. Taking these factors into account, it may well be that the governments of these two provinces especially will wish to respond by steadily expanding the concrete measures proposed

here; they may of their own volition even wish to become "officially bilingual provinces" with the full language régimes thereby entailed.

326. All seven provinces have to take into account those localities where the minority is more heavily concentrated. To meet local situations, the provincial governments must equip themselves with a minimum of facilities in the second language, if only to communicate with certain local administrations. In many sectors a translation bureau will suffice; for the educational system much more will be needed. Obviously this question hardly arises in such a province as Newfoundland, where there were about 3,000 Canadians of French mother tongue (less than 1 per cent of the population) in 1961. The situation is more serious in Manitoba where the last census counted about 61,000 Francophones (7 per cent of the total population).

327. The French language is not equally known in every province. Hence, it will be difficult to carry out some of the reforms we believe necessary. The officially bilingual provinces, especially Quebec, could offer their help. We believe that it would be in the interest of the provinces to reach mutual agreements on exchange arrangements for the training of French-speaking personnel, particularly teachers. Pooling resources could bring better results than separate initiatives.

328. Although not so burdensome as it may first have sounded, the effort proposed for each province—especially for the officially bilingual provinces—will still be considerable. It presupposes that each province subscribes to the principle of equality. We do not see how this principle, if accepted, can be implemented unless the provinces accept the kind of language régime we have recommended.

C. The Bilingual Districts

329. Up to this point we have focussed on language practices at the federal and provincial levels. These practices will apply to the whole country or to the provinces chiefly through the centralized services of these jurisdictions and through citizens' direct contact with federal and provincial legislative and administrative centres. However necessary and beneficial these reforms might be, wherever they could be instituted, they would not by themselves assure genuinely equal opportunities for both official languages. We must also provide for a set of language practices of federal and provincial jurisdictions within the communities they serve. We must set out language laws and practices for school boards and other municipal institutions.

330. *Our aim is to encourage an active co-operation among all governments in providing services to the regional minority in its own language.* The objective is not so much the recognition of a specific

right as the linguistic reorientation of a number of institutions in the three levels of government. Their combined action will noticeably alter the living conditions of the minority in a defined area.

331. Consequently, we are going to propose the creation of "bilingual districts"—special areas within which a defined language régime would be established for federal, provincial, and local jurisdictions. These districts would be areas where the official-language minority is numerous enough to warrant the kind of linguistic reorientation we feel desirable. We will propose that they be defined essentially by regional clusters of the official-language minority. This geographic framework will thus be closely related to real language needs.

332. Several practical reasons make these consolidations desirable. Human resources certainly are richer and more diversified in a larger, homogeneous region than in an isolated municipality. Moreover, there is good reason to include as many regional, federal, provincial, and municipal services as possible to serve a minority that is numerically significant. For example, there are greater possibilities—and needs—for a secondary school system in the minority language in a region (such as the Ottawa-Saint Lawrence region in Ontario, or northern and eastern New Brunswick) with a sizable French-speaking population than in a rural parish where the French-speaking minority is isolated within an English-speaking region.

333. There are also sound psychological reasons for consolidating regional minorities. In parts of the country where the minority is important not only locally but regionally, the majority will be more aware of its minority. It will usually be easier to persuade the majority to recognize the minority's language in such an area than in parts of the country where the minority is almost invisible. The regional recognition of its language is very important to the minority, who will thus feel more accepted, settled, and stronger. The granting of clear, indisputable language rights to a minority beyond the jurisdictional limits of a municipality or school board will increase the vitality of the minority's culture.

334. We support, in principle, the use of existing local governmental boundaries, both to reduce confusion and to provide a base for proposing responsibilities to existing local governments. However, many natural language areas extend beyond these local boundaries, and each will have to be treated as an entity.

335. The bilingual district is neither a new jurisdiction nor, technically speaking, a new administrative structure. Rather it is designed to bring about linguistic co-operation in the services of existing governments. Our goal is to be just toward members of an official-language minority, without imposing too heavy obligations on the majority.

1. *Determining boundaries of bilingual districts*

336. To achieve this in a given area it is necessary to decide on rules for setting the boundaries of bilingual districts. We shall use the census division as the statistical base for discovering linguistic clusters, at least in an approximate sense. It is not technically an administrative division, since it is used only for the census, but it is a more accurate and stable base than most administrative divisions. One of its purposes is to report upon Canada's linguistic make-up; using it, we can follow locally from census to census the development of each official-language group.

337. Which census divisions provide a potential for the creation of districts? Obviously, those with sufficient members of an official-language minority, as indicated by census "mother tongue" figures. We shall suggest 10 per cent of the population as a criterion for this first stage. This will cover most members of English- and French-speaking minorities.¹

Which census divisions?

338. Fifty-four census divisions satisfy this criterion. Forty-three are in the three officially bilingual provinces—Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick—and the remainder are in Nova Scotia (4), Prince Edward Island (1), Manitoba (4), Saskatchewan (1) and Alberta (1). In most cases—especially in the three officially bilingual provinces—these census divisions are adjacent to each other; thus the population groups are immediately evident.

Province	Census Division	No.	Percentage of official-language minority ²
Prince Edward Island	Prince	2	16.3
Nova Scotia	Digby	6	37.7
	Inverness	10	23.4
	Richmond	15	46.7
	Yarmouth	18	32.8
New Brunswick	Gloucester	4	85.2
	Kent	5	81.9
	Madawaska	7	94.2
	Northumberland	8	26.7
	Restigouche	10	61.0
	Sunbury	12	10.5
	Victoria	13	37.5
	Westmorland	14	40.5

¹The rights of the minority groups who live in municipalities outside bilingual districts are discussed in §§358 ff.

²Percentage by census division of population of English mother tongue in Quebec, and of French mother tongue in other provinces.

Province	Census Division	No.	Percentage of official-language minority
Quebec	Argenteuil	2	30.4
	Bonaventure	9	14.2
	Brome	10	52.4
	Chambly	11	24.0
	Châteauguay	15	29.8
	Compton	17	20.1
	Deux-Montagnes	18	17.9
	Gaspé-Est	22	15.5
	Gatineau	25	30.3
	Huntingdon	27	40.0
	Laprairie	34	13.4
	Missisquoi	43	21.4
	Île-de-Montréal	48	24.0
	Île-Jésus	49	13.9
	Papineau	52	12.9
	Pontiac	53	55.0
	Richmond	57	12.6
	Rouville	59	13.5
	Saguenay	60	10.6
	Sherbrooke	62	14.1
	Stanstead	64	23.0
	Saint-Jean	66	10.3
	Témiscamingue	68	10.7
	Vaudreuil	72	23.7
Ontario	Algoma	1	11.9
	Carleton	4	22.9
	Cochrane	5	46.1
	Essex	10	10.8
	Glengarry	12	47.5
	Nipissing	30	36.0
	Prescott	39	82.6
	Russell	43	77.4
	Stormont	45	36.6
	Sudbury	46	33.1
	Timiskaming	48	26.7
Manitoba	Census Division	1	31.1
	Census Division	3	12.0
	Census Division	6	14.3
	Census Division	19	13.9
Saskatchewan	Assiniboia	3	18.3
Alberta	St. Paul-Bonnyville	12	18.1

339. However, none of these census divisions¹ will *necessarily* form a bilingual district. Although the census division indicates the presence

¹ The term "census division" corresponds to "county" in eastern Canada. In western Canada, where there are no counties, "census divisions" are used.

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

ALBERTA

BRITISH COLUMBIA

SASKATCHEWAN

MANITOBA

ONTARIO




QUEBEC

NEWFOUNDLAND

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

NOVA SCOTIA

NEW
BRUNSWICK

 OFFICIAL LANGUAGE
 MINORITY EQUAL TO OR
 MORE THAN 10%
 ENGLISH-SPEAKING MAJORITY
 FRENCH-SPEAKING MAJORITY

Source: Census of Canada, 1961
 Drawn by McGill Geography Department, 1967

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

2 Prince

NOVA SCOTIA

6 Digby
10 Inverness
15 Richmond
18 Yarmouth

NEW BRUNSWICK

4 Gloucester
5 Kent
7 Madawaska
8 Northumberland
10 Restigouche
12 Sunbury
13 Victoria
14 Westmorland

QUEBEC

2 Argenteuil
9 Bonaventure
10 Brome
11 Chambly
15 Châteauguay
17 Compton
18 Deux-Montagnes
22 Gaspé-Est
25 Gatineau
27 Huntingdon
34 Laprairie
43 Mississauga

48 Ile-de-Montréal
49 Ile-Jésus
52 Papineau
53 Pontiac
57 Richmond
59 Rouville
60 Saguenay
62 Sherbrooke
64 Stanstead
66 Saint-Jean
68 Témiscamingue
72 Vaudreuil

ONTARIO

1 Algoma
4 Carleton
5 Cochrane
10 Essex
12 Glengarry
30 Nipissing
39 Prescott
43 Russell
45 Stormont
46 Sudbury
48 Timiskaming

MANITOBA

Census Division 1
Census Division 3
Census Division 6
Census Division 19
SASKATCHEWAN
3 Assiniboia

ALBERTA

12 St-Paul-Bonnyville

of French- and English-speaking minorities within a given area, it does not show their distribution. For example, two neighbouring divisions, A and B, might have official-language minorities forming 20 and 3 per cent of their populations respectively. On closer examination we may find that the minorities are not distributed at random; for example, most of them might be living in only one part of the area. We can express the situation graphically as follows:



If we chose the census division as the basis for creating a bilingual district, all of division A would likely become bilingual, and all of division B would remain unilingual. Our diagram shows that most of the members of the minority live in one section of division A and in the adjacent part of division B. Should official bilingualism be imposed on the unilingual parts of the former, and the bilingual fraction of the latter be ignored? We do not think so. In such a case, *all of the area marked in black, excluding the rest of divisions A and B, should become one bilingual district.* This theoretical example—simpler than the actual situation in most cases—shows how the census division will help determine the bilingual district, although in the end the boundaries of the two may be quite different.

340. To discover exactly where the official-language minority groups live in any particular census division, we must examine the population data for the census subdivisions (usually existing municipalities)¹ which comprise the census division. Thus, our second step would involve examining the composition of each subdivision in the 54 divisions. We propose that a subdivision with a minority of French or English mother tongue forming 10 per cent or more of its population be considered as a probable part of a bilingual district. This criterion of 10 per cent is arbitrary, as would be any criterion between 8 and 15 per cent. As we have said, we feel that an official-language minority must be recognized as soon as it is viable; of course, there is no magic figure over which a group is "viable." Cultural and linguistic survival depends upon many factors; doubtless the will to persist is the most important. However, we must establish a quantitative criterion, and we

¹ In all provinces, the subdivisions of census divisions or counties have consisted of various kinds of municipalities, depending on the form of municipal organization in a particular province. For our purposes the only relevant exception is Nova Scotia, where "census subdivisions" have been designated by D.B.S. With appropriate modification, however, the approach we have outlined can be applied everywhere.

believe that 10 per cent is reasonable. Once a detailed examination of the subdivisions has been made, it will be possible to draw the boundaries of the bilingual districts, which in effect would be a clustering of subdivisions with minority-language concentrations.

341. The actual creation of these districts and the precise definition of their boundaries would legally be the responsibility of provincial or federal authorities. The federal and interested provincial governments will have to agree on a common criterion for defining the boundaries of the bilingual districts. Therefore, **we recommend that bilingual districts be established throughout Canada and that negotiations between the federal government and the provincial government concerned define the exact limits of each bilingual district.**

342. We assume that this process will include consultations with local authorities. The importance of the role of local governments is continually increasing, especially in major urban centres. They are performing more and more functions and exercising more and more direct influence on the day-to-day life of their taxpayers; the success of many provincial measures will depend to a large degree on the extent of their collaboration. Therefore, those responsible at the federal and provincial levels must pay strict attention to these local aspects.

343. There will be two principal steps in the federal-provincial negotiations:

a) Establishing the population base:

- 1) Identification of the census divisions with an official-language minority of at least 10 per cent of the population.
- 2) Examination of the population data for the various subdivisions in each division to determine where the official-language minority is concentrated.
- 3) Examination of the population data of adjacent divisions. If in one or several adjacent divisions there are subdivisions where the minority-language population reaches or surpasses 10 per cent, such subdivisions should be considered eligible for inclusion in the bilingual district.
- 4) Delineation of the provisional boundaries of each bilingual district to include eligible subdivisions from steps 2) and 3) above.

b) Comparison of provincial bilingual districts with existing federal, provincial, and local administrative districts:

It may be objected that these administrative districts will rarely coincide either with each other or with the proposed bilingual district. Wherever the boundaries of a bilingual district can be adjusted to make it conform more closely with an appropriate

administrative district—federal, provincial or local—such adjustment should be made.¹ We can also foresee changes in the opposite direction. For example, it will frequently happen that an administrative region will be larger than the bilingual district, and the regional office will be located outside the limits of the bilingual district. In such a case the jurisdiction involved would have a choice of establishing a new administrative sub-region to coincide with the bilingual district, or arranging that services provided by the larger administrative region to the bilingual district would meet the necessary standards.

344. Once the final stage in the negotiations has been reached, the bilingual district can be formally established through a federal-provincial agreement.

345. We must anticipate two problems. First, it is proposed that those subdivisions with an official-language minority greater than 10 per cent be the main components of the bilingual district; but some municipalities in the immediate area may not meet this population criterion. Wherever possible, the districts should be formed so as to avoid including municipalities in which the minority is below 10 per cent. However, where the district boundaries cannot be so established, arrangements should also be made for such municipalities to carry on their distinctly municipal operations in only one language while still being included in the district for other local, provincial, and federal governmental services. The second problem concerns the size of the bilingual districts, which will obviously vary considerably. Flexibility in this matter will be required in the proposed negotiations. The Montreal region, for example, with one of the largest population concentrations in Canada, and with a complex and evolving local government structure, will require one approach; regions where the population is dispersed—such as those in Northern Ontario—will require a quite different treatment. In the negotiations, all factors will have to be carefully balanced.

¹ This is because of the very complex system found in any country with a federal system of government. In Canada it is also the result of the great number of administrative units and their criss-crossing. Generally each level of government independently establishes the regional borders it deems most suitable for its administrative purposes. Moreover, the governments permit most of their agencies in turn to establish independently, in their own spheres of authority, regional boundaries suited to their own administrative purposes. Crown corporations and semi-autonomous institutions also enjoy the same freedom. Facing this forest of non-coinciding administrative divisions, we do not now which regions we could choose for a language role at the expense of the others. This is why we have spoken about co-operation between the various levels of government in bilingual districts; it is also why such co-operation can only be realized in careful and gradual stages.

346. Federal-provincial accord on the question of district boundaries is clearly desirable and we feel that this can be attained. However, **should the negotiations between the federal government and a province break off before agreement, we recommend that each, acting in its own right, immediately declare officially bilingual, for its purposes, areas which it has itself delineated.** In that event we would not have a bilingual district in the full sense; however, at least part of the official-language minority would have some government services in its language.

347. Once established, the system need be re-examined only after each decennial census. For this purpose **we recommend the establishment of a federal-provincial review council whose main duties would be: a) to recognize as bilingual districts or as parts of bilingual districts new areas where the official-language minority attains or surpasses 10 per cent, and b) to remove from officially bilingual districts those areas where the numerical importance of the official-language minority has substantially decreased.**

348. To help stabilize the district and protect, within reason, its acquired rights, we suggest the establishment of a level below which a district would cease to be officially bilingual. This level could be 7 per cent. Thus, minor local fluctuations would not involve changing the system. On the other hand, a district would not continue to be artificially bilingual when its official-language minority had become insignificant in size. The Finnish experience has shown that such a system can function to the satisfaction of both the majority and the minority.

349. In every province the language of the provincial majority will of course be official in all services offered to the general public. The recommendations concerning bilingual districts simply establish the rights of the minority language, since the language of the provincial majority is not at issue.

2. The language régime for bilingual districts

350. Again we have Quebec as our model. There, several elements of the bilingual district already exist. We shall reconsider some of the domains—the judiciary and the administration—examined in our study of the bilingual provinces. But this time two jurisdictions—the federal and provincial—meet in one territory and are joined by a third, the local government, which depends on the province for its existence.

351. At the district level, only local governments have legislative functions. We believe that, in bilingual districts, municipal councils and other local government bodies should be required to permit either official language to be used in their deliberations. All by-laws and regulations should be recorded and printed in both official languages.

352. All courts within bilingual districts throughout Canada should permit pleadings in both English and French and should provide, whenever necessary, appropriate translation services. This applies to both federal and provincial courts; lower courts should be truly bilingual or equipped to function fully in both languages. All forms and court orders will have to be drawn up in both official languages. Bilingual stenographic and interpretation services will have to be available, and this may require travelling teams. As we have already seen in our study of the bilingual provinces, the courts of appeal will have to offer similar services.

353. On the administrative level, the creation of bilingual districts will have important consequences. All federal and provincial offices located in a bilingual district will be so staffed that residents can communicate in either English or French, orally or in writing. This does not mean that all members of the staff must be bilingual—a certain number of bilingual employees will suffice to guarantee these services. Letters and inquiries will be answered in either language. Forms, notices, information sheets, and so on will be bilingual or available in either language. Signs will be bilingual (or possibly, in the case of road signs, non-lingual).

Provincial and
federal offices

354. Local governments within a bilingual district should make all administrative services, written and oral, available in both official languages, in the way described in the preceding paragraphs. Priority should be given to personal services—those rendered by welfare officials, municipal hospital staffs, and police. But in due course French-speaking and English-speaking citizens can expect to be served in their own language and, whenever possible, by someone who understands their culture.

Local government
services

355. These are the new duties we propose for local government in a bilingual district. Can we now draw a more precise picture of how they will be carried out in practice? A detailed description is impossible; local government operations are too complex and varied—and they are changing too fast—for us to identify every problem and propose a solution. It is much wiser to rely on the experience and good sense of those directly concerned. But some common problems should be mentioned and arrangements to cope with them suggested.

356. First, we may consider the problem of very small local government units, where important services are often provided by a tiny staff with limited language skills and a small budget. How will they fulfil the new demands of a bilingual district? We believe that they should combine forces with other units facing the same difficulties. Common translation and interpretation services could be organized; a

stenographic pool could make the scarce language skill available to several offices. Language courses—especially for switchboard operators, building staff, and other personnel who require only a limited vocabulary and limited comprehension to meet public needs—could be established by joint action. Consolidating such facilities would also permit more effective assistance, both financial and technical, by federal and provincial governments. Many precedents exist for such inter-governmental collaboration.

357. But there will still be language responsibilities which cannot be shared. The emergency situations faced by police, fire, hospital, and other services require communication in both languages. Indeed, most units of local government will have to have their own bilingual staff for such functions.

358. Collaboration of several local government offices will be more difficult for those municipalities which have a minority greater than 10 per cent, but are not part of a bilingual district. Fortunately, these cases are few, but their problems still deserve attention. What steps will be practicable?

359. Such local government units may still be able to join forces with adjacent units, even when the latter serve a minority of less than 10 per cent. Once it is accepted as normal for a local government to serve its citizens in both official languages, rigid adherence to the 10 per cent rule may become rare. **We recommend that provincial governments amend their municipal legislation to remove all obstacles to the use of both the French and English languages in local government.** Then there will be no barriers to the extension of dual language service beyond those districts where it is obligatory. Whether or not co-operation with other local governments proves possible, the central administrative services of the federal and provincial governments must be prepared to provide generous assistance to local governments outside bilingual districts. Education is especially important and will require particular attention.

360. Large urban and metropolitan areas (100,000 or more in population) need special consideration. More and more, they are becoming the centres of Canadian life; their economic, social, and cultural influence spreads far beyond their boundaries. But they are also fast changing; nowhere else is so much thought and discussion being devoted to developing new forms of government. Fitting the concept of the bilingual district to these cities will require forethought and flexibility.

361. Montreal and its environs provide the most outstanding example. Local and municipal jurisdictions overlap and intermingle; they

rarely correspond to federal and provincial administrative districts in the region. Language groups on the Island itself are divided by fairly clear geographical lines, but the suburbs are often a patchwork of cultural communities. We feel, however, that with patience and good will, those who plan the districts can meet the objectives we have defined and anticipate changes in governmental structure.

362. In several major centres even *a large number* using the second language will constitute only *a relatively small proportion* of the population. Neither a bilingual district nor even formal recognition of French and English by local government may be warranted. The metropolitan areas of Toronto, Edmonton, and Quebec are cases in point. The French-speaking minorities of the first two are, respectively, 26,000 and 11,000. Quebec has an English-speaking minority of 13,000. These are sizable groups and at least some of their cultural needs must be met. In our view, educational facilities are the most important.

363. A further step can often be effective. Many briefs to the Commission urged the importance of French-language cultural centres in large cities. In areas where English is all-pervasive, French-language schools will have to be supported by other cultural resources such as theatre and films, radio and television, books and magazines. A cultural centre could provide a focal point for such services, and reinforce the efforts of existing social and cultural associations. Such centres would enable members of other cultural groups to enjoy and participate in the French language and culture; there would be visible evidence of the French fact across the land.

364. The existence of bilingual districts will affect the central administrations of the provinces and the federal government. As we have already said, these administrations must provide services for the bilingual districts within their jurisdictions. However, after they have equipped themselves to serve the minorities in their bilingual districts, governments can extend their help to the minorities outside the districts at very little extra expense. The results listed below will extend beyond the bilingual districts and are just a reminder of what we have stated in the two previous sections:

a) *At the federal level:* All services rendered by the Ottawa offices of a federal government department will be available to any citizen in both French and English. In fact, these services will mainly involve written communications—letters, forms, notices, information sheets, departmental reports, brochures, and so on—but they will also involve oral communication.

b) *In the officially bilingual provinces* (New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec): Services rendered in both languages by the central

administrative offices to all citizens desiring them will be equivalent to those provided by the central offices of the federal government.

c) In the other provinces with bilingual districts: These provinces must be able to communicate with residents of the bilingual districts in both languages. Their central administrative offices will be expected to answer letters from members of the official-language minority living in these areas, and these services could easily be extended to include all the members of the minority in the province.

d) In the provinces with no bilingual districts (British Columbia and Newfoundland): A bureau of translation and some educational services might suffice in these provinces.

365. What we said previously about the new bilingual provinces applies even more to the districts: the system just described cannot be established overnight. The recognition of a bilingual district does not mean that local governments will immediately be able to fulfil its terms and conditions. Rather it means accepting the objective and moving to reach it over a set period. The results will be seen sooner where the minority is particularly important—especially where there are several adjoining bilingual districts—than in areas where it is very close to the 10 per cent minimum.

366. We consider the bilingual district the cornerstone of our proposed system. Without forcing the majority to adopt a system which would quickly become unbearable, the institution of bilingual districts can provide a just, flexible, and realistic system which does not impose rigid rules and unjustified obligations on anyone.

367. The officially bilingual provinces will necessarily be those with a fairly large number of bilingual districts. In such cases the central administration will have to equip itself adequately to serve an important section of the population. In provinces with few bilingual districts, it will be sufficient for the provincial administration to establish only some essential bilingual services. A province with no bilingual districts will have a minimum of these services.

368. Of course we are more concerned with the idea of bilingual districts and their language régimes than with the necessarily arbitrary methods for their establishment. A closer examination of the situation might lead the governments concerned to choose a quantitative criterion of 8 to 12 per cent, rather than the one we proposed: this is not important. Numbers alone cannot determine the significance of a minority, and even a small minority may be important in its region. Rather, the essential decision is to recognize the official-language minorities wherever their relative importance justifies it. Also, a more detailed study of the administrative services may well lead those concerned to discard some of our methods and add others. The

important thing is to designate areas where the right of the official-language minorities to appropriate services will be recognized and an obligation for them assumed by the various public administrations.

369. The bilingual district is inconceivable without the co-operation of the authorities and the local population. It will be most important to ensure that the proposals are well understood. The governments creating these districts will have to explain carefully in advance, especially to the majority, the meaning and the scope of their action. We anticipate a constantly recurring objection: that a bilingual area is one in which everyone must speak both languages. If the meaning of a "bilingual institution" is not patiently and clearly explained, there is a risk that the inhabitants of an area declared bilingual might bitterly oppose the imagined obligation to speak both languages.

370. Certainly the establishment of bilingual districts will not eliminate all inconveniences for members of an official-language minority. But there will be three practical advantages. They will feel that they are accepted as such. They will have at their disposal a certain number of actual services in their own language—something necessary for unilingual members of the minority and often useful even for bilingual persons who do not know the other language perfectly. A balance will be achieved—the French-language minority will know that it can obtain, in a given area of Ontario or New Brunswick, the same services accorded to the English-language minority in Quebec.

D. The Federal Capital

371. Everything said in the preceding sections about the linguistic régime in the bilingual districts applies *a fortiori* to the federal capital. But in our view the fact that it is the federal capital means that more than the establishment of a linguistic régime is required. We shall devote a later Book to the other aspects of the problem and to the concerted action which we envisage on the part of provincial and federal governments. In the meantime, we shall also publish special research studies which we hope will help to clarify the present situation and assist the understanding of the measures necessary in order to give the country a truly bilingual capital. Nevertheless, we propose to discuss briefly in this Book the status of the two official languages in the federal capital area.

372. In the Ottawa-Hull metropolitan area, as defined by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 38 per cent of the population was of French mother tongue at the 1961 census. In the Ontario part of the zone, 24 per cent were Francophones, and in the city of Ottawa,

21 per cent. On the Quebec side, 85 per cent were of French mother tongue. However, the population was not evenly distributed between the two sections of the metropolitan area: more than three-quarters lived in Ontario. The important consequence is that while those of English mother tongue were heavily concentrated on the Ontario side (94 per cent), the residents of French mother tongue were divided very nearly equally between municipalities in Ontario and Quebec.

373. At present in the Ontario section the French language is scarcely recognized officially in the provincial and municipal administrations. Nowhere else in Canada is there a comparable concentration of Francophones who have so few language rights.

374. But numbers are by no means the only important reasons for change. The federal capital should clearly reflect the nature of Canada. It should demonstrate vividly that Canada is a country of two official languages and two main cultures. French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians coming to the capital—and visitors from abroad—should sense that the capital reflects the linguistic duality of the country.

375. Canadians of the two languages should be able to feel at home in the capital. They should be able to live satisfying lives in the area while maintaining their respective cultures. In their capital both should have a full range of rights, and all the public services, available to them in their language. French-speaking Canadians living in the area should be able to have their children educated completely in French, and to know that the education is as good as that open to English-speaking children.

376. The symbolic significance of changes would be great, but the practical results could be just as important. There is an intense need to attract greater numbers of able French-speaking recruits to the federal Public Service, and one of the main obstacles is the present "English" cast of life in Ottawa. One wonders how many English-speaking Canadians would want to work in their country's capital if it meant moving to an area where English was not used by most of the public offices with which they had to deal, where there was no complete publicly-supported schooling in English for their children, and where the quality of "bilingual" education was inferior to that provided in French.

377. For the moment we have deliberately avoided trying to delimit precisely the "federal capital area." We know that it should include areas on both sides of the Ottawa River—that is, in the province of Quebec as well as in Ontario—and that it should include more than the city of Ottawa and the city of Hull. A useful concept to begin with is that of the metropolitan area, at present set out by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics as including, on the Ontario side of the Ottawa

River, Eastview, Nepean, Gloucester, and Rockcliffe Park; and on the Quebec side, Hull, Gatineau, Pointe-Gatineau, Aylmer, Lucerne, Deschênes, Templeton, and Templeton West. It should be noted that the National Capital Region, in which the National Capital Commission operates, is much broader and extends for approximately 1,050 square miles on the Ontario side and 750 square miles on the Quebec side.

378. In our present examination we shall concentrate on the metropolitan area and shall consider it as the federal capital area. Later we may be led to consider the other, broader National Capital Region.

379. The Quebec part of the area we are discussing has an English mother-tongue population of only 14 per cent, but their rights as a minority in this region contrast sharply with those of the French mother-tongue population on the Ontario side of the river, where their proportion is much greater. Our recommendations at this stage therefore apply chiefly to the Ontario portion.

380. As we said, our proposals for bilingual districts should apply in the federal capital area. In summary this means that for the federal capital area we recommend: a) that the English and French languages should have full equality of status throughout the area; b) that all services should be available at all levels of public administration in the two languages; c) that the use of both English and French should be permitted in the deliberations of all local government bodies, that all by-laws and regulations should be recorded and printed in the two languages, and that all important public documents and all administrative services should be available in both languages; d) that all courts should permit pleadings in the two languages, and that lower courts should be equipped to function in both; e) that publicly supported education should be as available in French as in English and should be of the same quality; f) that the two provincial governments concerned and the federal government should discuss and negotiate the necessary measures.

381. In our view the federal government should be actively concerned with changes in the language régime in the federal capital area, and in its accompanying educational developments. It should do all it can to help bring about the necessary changes. We believe it should provide special financial assistance. The federal government has important responsibilities in all bilingual districts, but especially in the federal capital area. It already spends a great deal on physical developments in the capital region; expenditures and joint arrangements that will help create a capital truly reflecting the dual nature of Canada would be fully justified, in our opinion.

382. We believe it is clear that the establishment of official status for both English and French at all levels will not be sufficient. Much more will be required to bring about the federal capital we envisage. Co-ordinated action and co-operative arrangements covering both sides of the river appear to us essential. The development of a federal capital area of which both French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians can be proud will require the concerted interest, leadership, and determination of the governments of Canada, Quebec, Ontario, and local public bodies. By joint action they can create a capital that will truly exemplify equal partnership.

383. In this first Book we are concerned with a comparison of the status and use of Canada's two official languages as evinced by their protection through laws, statutes, and customs. This is a first step towards examining the possibility of a more equal partnership between those who speak the two languages. A similar examination of the institutions of the two communities will be the subject of succeeding Books. However, the opportunities to use a language are of little significance unless there exist at the same time opportunities to learn it and retain it—opportunities for an adequate education in the language. We therefore believe it is imperative, when we are suggesting the language régimes appropriate at various levels in Canada, to indicate some of the changes required in the educational systems within each level. At this point our comments will be very general, but a full discussion of the implications of new language régimes for education will follow in the Book on education.

384. The failure of the B.N.A. Act to protect English and French as languages of instruction in Canada has resulted in a great disparity in the use of these languages in our school systems and grave inequalities in the opportunities for the French-speaking minorities to have an education in their mother tongue. In Quebec, both languages were placed on an equal footing, and the principle establishing the right of both English-speaking and French-speaking children to be taught in their mother tongue was enshrined in the educational system of the province, in spite of the fact that it was not required by law. Because this linguistic equality was not firmly guaranteed for the country as a whole, however, the French-speaking minorities have been largely deprived of the right to an education in their mother tongue.

The B.N.A.
Act

385. This inequality and its consequences were the subject of many briefs presented to the Commission by Canadians of both language groups. The school is the basic agency for maintaining language and culture, and without this essential resource neither can remain strong. Of course the situation varies from province to province, but the fact remains that many Francophones outside Quebec have been steadily losing their language.

Official-language
minorities
outside Quebec

386. Where the French Canadian population is scattered, it is obviously not easy to provide a suitable programme of education in French. But the real stumbling block has been not so much this as the unwillingness of the English-speaking majority to recognize the right of French-speaking parents to educate their children in French. In Quebec, where the right to equal access to an education in either official language has been respected, even remote and numerically insignificant English-speaking communities have been provided with reasonable opportunities for schooling in English. In most of the other provinces, until very recently, such teaching in French as was permitted was intended simply as a means of transition to the English language. Parents who wanted their children educated in their language and their culture had to bear the costs of a private education while still having to contribute to the English-language public school system.

Comparison with
Quebec minority

387. Even in the provinces where they constitute a sizable minority—for example, 425,000 in Ontario and 35 per cent of the population in New Brunswick—the situation of French-speaking Canadians has suffered seriously by comparison with that of the English mother-tongue minority of 13 per cent in Quebec. Almost without exception, it has been impossible for a French-speaking student outside Quebec to complete his education in French through the elementary and secondary public schools. But in Quebec, Anglophones have access to a complete education in English through the public schools of the province—elementary, secondary, and university. Even English-speaking Roman Catholics have enjoyed a large measure of autonomy within the Catholic system. As a result, their language has never been in danger and they have been able to concentrate on improving curriculum and administration.

Limited effect of
recent legislation

388. In most of the English-speaking provinces there has recently been evidence of modifications in the restrictions against French as a language of instruction. In some cases these changes represent little more than slight improvements on the *status quo*; in other provinces a real attempt is being made to redesign the French-language programme to be more nearly comparable to the English-language programme. It is fair to say that, in general, French-language education outside Quebec has suffered principally from two weaknesses. First, it has been largely

achieved through the struggles of French-speaking Canadians despite the resistance of the English-speaking majority. The toll in efficiency and vitality is readily appreciated. Second, it has not constituted a "system." There have been serious gaps and dislocations in the sequence from one educational level to another; essentials such as teacher-training, guidance, and so on, have left a great deal to be desired; a technical or scientific education has been largely unavailable. As a consequence, even where conditions have been most favourable, French-speaking children have been seriously handicapped in their education, with the result that often they were deficient in both languages. Not only has there been injustice in human terms, but these Canadian citizens have not been able to make their potential contribution to society. Therefore, any serious reforms will need to deal realistically with these two situations.

389. We believe that equal partnership in a bilingual Canada implies the fullest development and expression of both official languages compatible with regional circumstances. We interpret this to mean that it must be accepted as normal that children of both linguistic groups will have access to schools in which their own language is the language of instruction. Therefore, **we recommend that the right of Canadian parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice be recognized in the educational systems, the degree of implementation to depend on the concentration of the minority population.** This is our only recommendation in this volume in respect to education. More specific recommendations and more detailed information will be forthcoming in the Book on education. We believe this recommendation is basic to any future changes. In practical terms, it will mean extending French-speaking Canadians' opportunities for schooling in the French language, since the English-speaking residents of Quebec already have the opportunities we are recommending.

Recommendation

390. We shall now indicate, again in general terms, how we consider the schools will be affected by this principle in the bilingual provinces, the bilingual districts, and in large urban centres which have a substantial official-language minority.

A. In Bilingual Provinces

391. The principle of equal partnership implies comparable educational régimes for the minorities in the three officially bilingual provinces. This will make it possible for many Francophones to live more completely in their own language. In New Brunswick and Ontario, the desirability of classroom instruction in the child's maternal language is

already recognized and the right of parents to have their children educated in either French or English has been conceded in principle.¹ There is considerable disparity, however, in the ways this principle is applied in the three provinces. As we have seen, in Quebec instruction at all levels is available to the English-speaking minority in its own language. The situation of French-speaking Canadians in the other two provinces varies from that standard. We suggest that it would be advantageous for the three officially bilingual provinces to agree jointly upon the norms to be established for minority education. In Ontario and New Brunswick it is a matter of officially recognizing what is now unofficial practice, of extending this recognition to all levels, of adopting standard procedures for establishing these schools throughout the province. Equivalent educational facilities and academic standards must be ensured and maintained, whether the language of instruction is English or French; the appropriate administrative framework must be established and the necessary officials appointed. Compulsory education already obliges the provincial government to provide schools for all children. This will be extended to include the provision of French-language schools wherever there are enough French-speaking children to populate them. The provincial government of Quebec already fulfils the obligation to provide English-language schools wherever there are sufficient numbers of English-speaking children. In the officially bilingual provinces, then, there will be complete and parallel systems of education in French and English, from the elementary schools through the institutions of higher learning.

B. In Bilingual Districts

392. Educational facilities represent a vital part of the régime for the language minority in the bilingual districts. (We must note once again that we are considering now the French-speaking minorities, since Anglophones in Quebec already have these facilities.) It is in the bilingual districts that we can expect to find enough French-speaking children to populate schools in which the language of instruction is

¹The Premier of Ontario, the Honourable John Robarts, in an address to the Association canadienne des éducateurs de langue française on August 24, 1967, said, "It is a fundamental necessity of 1967 that the Franco-Ontarians be enabled to experience the full benefits of our educational system. Encompassed in this recognition of necessity is the proposal to extend what now is being done to provide, within the public school system of Ontario, secondary schools in which the language of instruction is French. . . . It is only practical that such French-language secondary schools and classes can be established wherever the numbers of French-speaking students are great enough to warrant instruction in French. As far as possible, they should provide for French-speaking Ontarians the counterpart of the existing English-language educational programme. . . . In doing so, we would be meeting the needs of our French-speaking Ontarians for equal education opportunities at all levels of education, elementary, secondary and university. . . ."

French. A local school, however, cannot exist in isolation; it must be seen as only a part of a complex educational system. Teachers must be trained, curricula must be planned, textbooks and teachers' guides must be developed, and inspection and guidance must be provided to maintain uniform academic standards. The minority schools will be no exception. They too must be part of an educational system which provides these essential services. What then will be the organization and administration of schools for the minority in bilingual districts?

C. Administration of Minority Schools—Role of Federal and Provincial Governments

393. Among the suggestions considered by the Commission was a proposal that the federal government should accept responsibility for minority schools. A federal system would have the advantage of ensuring a uniform curriculum and uniform standards for minority French-language schools. However—apart from the fact that, in the present Canadian Constitution, education is a provincial responsibility—there are considerations which count against this solution. Local schools must be adapted to the needs of the community they serve—technical and commercial programmes, for example, should complement the regional economy—and the advantage of a uniform curriculum from coast to coast would have to be sacrificed to some extent to the need for regional adaptation. Therefore we do not suggest a transfer of educational responsibility for minorities from provincial to federal jurisdiction, although we foresee a role for the federal government in helping to meet certain additional provincial costs. This is an example of what should become a new dimension in the role of the federal government as the only political institution shared by all Canadians.

394. Provincial administrations have a special knowledge of the educational needs of their provinces. It is obviously easier for an existing department of education to draw on its knowledge and experience and adapt its programme to the needs of the provincial minority than it would be to duplicate this administrative competence in a federal department. The argument is even more convincing because the language of instruction has no bearing on so many administrative decisions, and existing provincial regulations on school construction, school equipment, transportation, and health services will be equally applicable to minority-language schools.

395. Through provincial administration, uniform academic standards can be maintained for all the children in the province. Schools providing

instruction in the language of the minority without maintaining high academic standards would be a handicap rather than a privilege. In every province teacher-training programmes and elaborate certification procedures have been developed to ensure a competent teaching staff. Textbooks, equipment, examinations, and departmental supervision have all been integrated into an educational system designed to achieve the highest possible standards. Only by establishing an equivalent system adapted to their own needs can there be any assurance that students attending the minority-language schools will receive an education equivalent to that provided for other children in the province.

396. The adaptation of the existing provincial school systems to bilingual education will require careful planning. Teachers will have to be specially qualified. Not only must they have the qualifications required for teaching in the provincial schools but they must also be able to teach in the language of the minority. There are many French-speaking teachers now, especially in Ontario and New Brunswick, but more will be needed. Adequate supervisory services must be provided. It is obvious that these various measures will increase the costs of education. We accept as a principle the responsibility of the federal government to contribute to the additional costs involved. The way in which this principle can be applied without interfering with provincial autonomy in education, and other aspects of the administration of minority-language schools, will be discussed in a subsequent study.

In all bilingual
districts

397. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, bilingual districts may be created in all provinces, whether officially bilingual or not. The basic assumption is that there is a public responsibility for education in French as in English. The extent of the services offered will be governed only by considerations of educational and economic practicality. In the provinces other than Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick, however, to establish French-language schools where they have not hitherto been provided will create a new situation and certain attendant problems. In the three officially bilingual provinces, for instance, the minority population is large enough that we can expect necessary administrative measures and services to be provided within the province. In other provinces, where there will be few minority-language schools, it will not be feasible for each provincial department to undertake the necessary curriculum development and teacher training for these schools, and interprovincial co-operation will be necessary. However, such interprovincial planning in education is already beginning. For the designated bilingual districts outside Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick, therefore, the same principle applies as for the designated regions within those three provinces. Parents will have the right to have their children educated in the official language of their choice.

D. Outside the Bilingual Districts

398. The plan of developing services in both official languages in areas where there are appropriate numbers of French-speaking or English-speaking Canadians is intended to guarantee certain basic rights to these minorities. But members of such linguistic groups living outside these areas should not be excluded from similar opportunities to be served in their maternal language. Programmes for such minorities must range from a minimum to a maximum service according to population concentration, but will still proceed from the acknowledged right of parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice.

399. For most English-speaking citizens of Quebec and for most French-speaking citizens in the other provinces, this right will be established through the bilingual districts. But whether these districts are located in an officially bilingual province or not, there are settlements of provincial minorities outside these designated regions, and their need for teaching in their mother tongue is at least as important. Indeed, in view of their linguistic isolation, their need is probably much greater. Here, however, the right to an education in the minority language needs to be qualified by other considerations. In practice a school can only provide the normal options or maintain the required academic standards if the student body is large enough to warrant the necessary specialist teachers and equipment. The minority-language group is large enough in some communities outside these designated areas for a minority-language school, but in other communities it will be too small. The problem is to establish the right to an education in the minority language when it is feasible, without imposing an obligation on the provincial governments when it is impracticable.

400. The fact that minority-language schools already exist shows that such schools are feasible. However, controversy has arisen in the past when a request by the minority for a French-language school was rejected by the local school board. A formal procedure is required, by which the minority can assert its right to such a school. Provincial departments of education can decide from their experience the minimum number of students for either an elementary or a secondary school. It is proposed, therefore, that the departments of education formally state the requirements and the procedures by which a minority group outside the designated areas can establish its right to a minority-language school at either the elementary or the secondary level. Further, the basis upon which minority-language schools are made available should be such as to provide the maximum opportunity, rather than merely improving on the present situation. Hence, minority-language

schools will not be restricted to bilingual districts but will be provided wherever the minority group in a community is large enough, in the judgement of the provincial authorities, to warrant a school.

**Outside bilingual
districts**

401. Isolated families and scattered groups will not qualify for minority-language schools by the above terms. In some cases it will be possible to provide an elementary but not a secondary school; in other cases not even an elementary school would be feasible. For these children a variety of solutions is possible. Within the school, separate classes might be provided with the mother tongue used as the language of instruction in some subjects, although for other subjects the student would have to study in the language of the majority. For parents who want their children to follow a complete minority-language programme, other possibilities exist, such as boarding schools or television teaching. Departmental regulations or at least departmental guidelines would help clarify the rights of the minority in these special situations.

E. In Large Urban Centres

402. One of the objectives which led to the Commission's recommendations on bilingual regions was the creation or consolidation of a network of bilingual areas across Canada, to provide services to Francophones in those regions and to give the actual image of the dual nature of Canadian society. In this plan, as we noted above, the large urban centres have a major role to play, as poles of attraction for all Canadians. For reasons of mobility if for no other, it is essential that educational opportunities in the French language be provided in these centres for Francophones who, without assurance that they can preserve their children's language, may rightly be reluctant to leave Quebec. In major urban centres where the number of French-speaking residents will not automatically ensure the existence of French-language schools, we propose basically the same arrangements as for bilingual districts, with certain additional administrative arrangements, such as transportation facilities. Students will have the opportunity to be educated in French, although they will often have to accept the inconvenience of travelling farther to school than English-speaking children. In this way, there will be—depending on local circumstances—separate French-language education in separate classrooms or in a separate school.

**Opportunities
for learning
French**

403. Moreover, the school might be considered as part of a French-language cultural complex. For the urban area as a whole, the cost of special administrative arrangements will be compensated for by the provision of facilities which will help to attract and retain French-speaking citizens who might otherwise never come. Such facilities will

also be a stimulus and encouragement to the Anglophones of those areas who are interested in the French language and culture. The interest which many Anglophones have recently shown in learning French¹ and in having their children learn French, has been frequently frustrated by the lack of opportunity in many areas of the country to practise the language or to be adequately taught. Apart from the importance of fostering communication and understanding between the two language groups, the need for bilingual Canadians will increase as activities involving both groups become more common, and as the trend towards larger administrative structures in business, government, and social organization increases the contacts between Francophones and Anglophones. The Commission was expressly charged in its terms of reference with the responsibility of recommending procedures which will enable Canadians to become more bilingual. We intend to discuss fully the important question of second-language learning in our Book on education. Here we wish simply to point out that, because Canada will need more bilingual citizens in the future than it has in the past, a minimum objective must be for all students to receive a basic introduction to both official languages so that they may become bilingual if the need or the opportunity should arise. Indirectly, of course, the designation of the necessary services within bilingual districts will have the effect of stimulating greater individual bilingualism.²

¹ Canadians seem to favour individual bilingualism in principle. The Social Research Group asked the following general question in a survey made for the Commission: "Do you think that it would be a good thing if everyone in Canada spoke both French and English?" Of the people interviewed, 77 per cent said "Yes", while 15 per cent said "No." This opinion favouring individual bilingualism is not equally shared by persons of different ethnic origins. Of those of British origin, 71 per cent answered "Yes," compared with 96 per cent of those of French origin. Opinions also varied between regions; 80 per cent of those of British origin in Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces were favourable to individual bilingualism, 72 per cent in Ontario, and 58 per cent in the four western provinces.

² In reply to the question: "Do you think that in Canada, English-speaking children should learn French in primary school?", 79 per cent of all the people interviewed across Canada in the Social Research Group survey said "Yes," 15 per cent said "No," and 6 per cent either qualified their answer ("It depends") or had no opinion. Although the proportions varied between regions and between different ethnic groups, the great majority of people supported the proposition. For example, among English Canadians three-quarters were in favour, less than a fifth against, and 5 per cent were uncertain; among French Canadians there was hardly any division, with almost 95 per cent in favour; among Canadians of ethnic origins other than English or French, more than two-thirds also supported the idea. It is interesting to note that in the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia, two-thirds said "Yes" and slightly less than 30 per cent voted "No." On the related question: "Do you think that in Canada, French-speaking children should learn English in primary school?", the degree of support on the average was even higher. Ninety-two per cent of all Canadians said they were in favour of the idea and only 5 per cent were opposed. English Canadians and other ethnic groups across the country replied "Yes" 90 per cent, "No" 6 per cent; French Canadians themselves supported the idea that their children should learn English in primary school to almost exactly the same extent (95 per cent) as they supported the idea that English-speaking children should learn French in elementary school; only 4 per cent were opposed.

F. Characteristics of French-language Schools

404. French-speaking children may be educated in a variety of situations, including schools where the instruction is entirely in the minority language and others where its teaching is limited to a few hours. Without attempting to lay down a fixed pattern for such schools, there are certain general characteristics to bear in mind.

405. Since the principal objective is to enable French-speaking children to expand their knowledge and enjoyment of their native language and culture, the quality of the teaching is tremendously important. The precise, sensitive command of one's own language is the essential and inestimable foundation of thought and communication. Lacking an adequate command of his language the child suffers the handicap of confused thinking and limited means of expression. Top priority therefore must be given to the teaching of the mother tongue, and the need for specially trained teachers and high quality texts cannot be over-emphasized. This is true of any language in any situation, but where the mother tongue is under the constant influence of a second language, much greater care has to be exercised to make the native language secure.

Learning the
language of
the majority

406. At the same time, students in the minority-language schools need to acquire an adequate command of the language of the majority. In the English-speaking provinces a knowledge of English is seen as an economic and social necessity. We were often told that "this is an English-speaking province," or even that "this is an English-speaking continent," and that a citizen was seriously handicapped in his career or his life in the community unless he knew the language. The English-speaking minority in the province of Quebec has not in the past been as conscious of the importance of learning the language of the majority, and has consequently lived rather apart from the French-speaking community. French-speaking residents of Quebec, while recognizing that a knowledge of English was an asset, would frequently say that "this is a French-speaking province," and the implication was that a resident of Quebec who did not know French was not fulfilling his responsibilities toward his community. In both cases, it is obvious that the minority is expected to learn the language of the majority. Again, the school is usually seen as the institution where this language should be learned.

407. Fortunately, learning the language of the majority presents few problems in these circumstances. Students can learn to speak two languages and, for children who belong to a linguistic minority, the learning situation is ready-made. The key factors in language learning are the desire and the opportunity to practise. Given motivation and

opportunity, there is no reason to fear that the minority will not learn the language of the majority. Nonetheless, special curricula must be developed for language instruction in the minority-language schools. It is not enough to teach English to French-speaking students from textbooks and course outlines designed for English-speaking children, although this is the pattern today in most English-speaking provinces. Special programmes are required to meet the special needs of the minority.

408. But language, important as it is, is not the only distinguishing feature of minority schools. The courses of study for English and French will obviously be different and the language of instruction for other subjects will vary. We shall later consider to what extent the programme and content of studies should also be different because they must reflect the cultural character of the minority.

Language and curriculum

409. For French-speaking minorities especially, cultural identity has in the past been intimately linked with the confessional character of the schools. However, there appears to be an increasing tendency within French Canadian communities across Canada to separate the question of language from religious objectives. Although we plan to come back to this complex question in a later Book, we wish to state here that what we consider essential under our terms of reference is to promote the establishment of French-language schools for the French-speaking minorities independently of religious consideration.

Confessionality and minority schools

G. Conclusion

410. In the foregoing pages we have insisted on the right of parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice, but at the same time we have suggested considerable flexibility as to how this right is exercised. We are convinced that it is important for Canada to maintain strong and vigorous links in the chain of French language and culture across the whole country. We believe furthermore that "equal partnership" for Francophones necessitates a change of policy, from offering the minimum of education in their mother tongue to offering the maximum.

411. In Chapter V we discussed the creation of language régimes at various levels of government in Canada. We proposed that Ontario and New Brunswick declare themselves officially bilingual and that they and each of the other interested provinces—including Quebec—join with the federal government in creating a system of bilingual districts. In Chapter VI we briefly considered the educational sector, whose institutions should be among the first affected by this system. In this chapter we shall propose legislation intended to ensure equal status for the French language in Canada.

412. Our first recommendations concern amendments to the British North America Act. The essential thing, we believe, is to write specific principles into the formal law of the Constitution, both as a solemn recognition of their importance and as an added protection for their observance. We think this can best be done by amending sections 93 and 133 of the B.N.A. Act.

A. An Extension of Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act

413. The French-speaking minorities in Canada have not generally had the same educational opportunities as those available to the English-speaking minority in Quebec. This fact has led us to recommend that the right of Canadian parents to have their children educated in either of Canada's official languages be recognized in the educational systems throughout Canada. We believe, moreover, that this new principle should not only be written into provincial laws but should be formally incorporated into the Constitution of Canada.

414. We of course realize that the actual wording of any amendment to the B.N.A. Act will have to be decided by the federal and provincial governments at a constitutional conference. But we think it helpful to set out in clear terms the amendment which seems to us appropriate and which would take the form of an addition to section 93. **We therefore recommend that the following paragraph, to be known as section 93A, be added to the B.N.A. Act:**

Every province shall establish and maintain elementary and secondary schools in which English is the sole or main language of instruction, and elementary and secondary schools in which French is the sole or main language of instruction, in bilingual districts and other appropriate areas under conditions to be determined by provincial law ; but nothing in this section shall be deemed to prohibit schools in which English and French have equal importance as languages of instruction, or schools in which instruction may be given in some other language.

B. A New Section 133 of the B.N.A. Act

415. In addition to the principle of equal access to education in either official language, we further believe it is essential to write some other principles into the Constitution of Canada, again as a solemn recognition of their importance and as an added protection for their observance.

416. Section 133 is the only one in the Act specifically referring to the use of the English and French languages. But in this section the guaranteed usage of both languages is limited to debate in the Parliament of Canada and in the legislature of Quebec, official publication of statutes in Ottawa and in Quebec, and pleadings and processes of all federal and all Quebec courts. There is no explicit provision for the use of English or French in either the federal or the Quebec administrative services, or in delegated legislation.

The role of
constitutional
provisions

417. It is our belief that constitutional provisions regarding the use of official languages, as contrasted with official languages acts, should be general in character, and cannot and should not attempt to resolve all the problems involved in formally recognizing the two languages. Other means would be much more effective. Recent directives from the federal government respecting bilingualism in the federal Public Service, provisions in the municipal law of Quebec permitting municipalities to decide whether they will use one or two languages in their by-laws, and the decision to establish a translation bureau in New Brunswick and simultaneous translation of debates in the legislature of

that province, are examples of rules for the use of language not embedded in constitutional law. Nevertheless, we believe that what the B.N.A. Act says about language rights has great symbolic as well as practical value. It is our opinion that section 133 should be amended so as to state clearly that English and French are the two official languages of Canada, and to provide rules for the application of the principle of equality at the provincial level and in bilingual districts. We do not advocate including guarantees for language use in schools in this amended section, since we think this is more directly related to the provisions of section 93.

418. While fully recognizing the exclusive competence of the governments concerned with respect to the wording of any amendment of the B.N.A. Act, we wish to suggest the kind of amendment which seems to us essential in the case of section 133. Therefore, **we recommend the adoption of a new version of section 133, which might read as follows:**

1. English and French are the two official languages of Canada.
2. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of Parliament of Canada and in the legislatures of all the provinces, and both those languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of the Houses of the legislatures of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec, and either may be used by any person in any pleading or process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from any of the Superior Courts of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec. The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and the legislatures of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec shall be enacted and published in both English and French.
3. The provisions of subsection 2 shall apply to any additional province in which those persons whose mother tongue is either English or French shall reach or exceed 10 per cent of the population of the province; and to any province which declares that English and French are its official languages.
4. Whenever in any province the English- or French-speaking population of the appropriate administrative unit reaches a substantial proportion, this unit shall be constituted into a bilingual district, and there shall be enacted federal and provincial legislation making judicial and administrative services in such bilingual district available in both official languages.
5. Nothing in this section shall be taken to diminish or restrict the use, as established by present or future law or practice, of any other language in Canada.

Subsection 1 419. The main changes proposed in section 133 are evident. The suggested revision first states that English and French are the two official languages of Canada, which is implied but not explicitly stated in the present section 133. We feel it very important, if the idea of equality is to be admitted throughout the country, that there be no ambiguity on this essential point.

Subsection 2 420. Besides formally recognizing the use of English and French in all the provincial legislatures, the new subsection 2 extends to New Brunswick and Ontario the provisions of the present section 133, which applies only to the province of Quebec. The case for New Brunswick seems to us to be self-evident, since the French element in the population is 38 per cent by ethnic origin, or 35 per cent by mother tongue. In Ontario, it is true, the percentage of Francophones by mother tongue is much lower—only 7 per cent of the population, or 10 per cent by ethnic origin—but still it represents 425,000 Ontario residents of French mother tongue. (The equivalent figure for the English-speaking minority in Quebec is 697,000.) Where there are enough Francophones or Anglophones concentrated in a definable area, then we believe, if an equal partnership is to be developed, that these people have a right which should be recognized even though they are but a small percentage of the population. It is surely not too heavy a burden on the province of Ontario to ask that French-speaking representatives in its legislature be permitted to use their own language in debates, at their own choice, and that the statutes governing them be available in their own language, as are federal statutes. The right to have French or English used in the pleadings and proceedings of superior provincial courts will present a practical difficulty at first, but we believe that it can be overcome—providing there is a genuine desire to recognize this right. More bilingual justices can be appointed, and cases in which the language issue is important can either be assigned to them or they may be assigned to the districts where such cases arise. For judicial services in inferior courts, provision should be made in provincial legislation at least for the bilingual districts we have already defined and to which reference is made in subsection 4 of the new section 133.

421. In Quebec, at present, the English and French languages may be used in any court, whether superior or inferior. The new text would therefore reduce this privilege by limiting it to superior courts. However, the requirements for bilingual judicial services in bilingual districts will protect the present rights of English-speaking citizens, even in inferior courts, in those sections of the province where most of them

live. We wish it to be clearly understood that the provisions set out here are the minimum, and there is nothing to prevent provinces granting further rights.

422. The new subsection 3 suggests the criterion for deciding when additional provinces in Canada should become officially bilingual. Again this must be read in the light of the rule that all provinces will be obliged to provide certain services in both French and English in bilingual districts, before the entire province becomes officially bilingual. Finally, any province, if it wishes, should be free to declare itself officially bilingual.

Subsection 3

423. The new subsection 4 reiterates our proposal about bilingual districts. It indicates that every province should establish bilingual districts within its territory, whenever the proportion of an official-language minority justifies it on a regional or local basis. The terms of the subsection say it would be up to each province to decide when a French-speaking or English-speaking minority reached a significant proportion in a specific region. However, we think the moment should be when such a minority reaches 10 per cent of the population.

Subsection 4

424. Subsection 5 is added to make it clear that, in giving these guarantees for the use of the English and French languages, no rights to use any other languages are being diminished, whether such rights already exist or might be established in the future. The presence of two official languages in Canada definitely does not mean that other languages have no right to exist. Obviously they will be used in personal relationships and group activities; they may be taught as academic subjects in the public education system or used for instruction in private institutions and in religious services. Certain languages, such as German, Ukrainian, and Italian, have already received some form of local or regional recognition. In future, whenever a sufficient number of Canadians ordinarily use a language other than English or French—Ukrainian, for example—and evidently wish to maintain it, this recognition might be broadened and even confirmed by law or regulation. We do not feel that this contradicts our principles in any way, for in all cases English and French will retain their official status. Rather, it would be a way of showing respect for minorities using languages other than English and French, and of recognizing their contribution “to the cultural enrichment of Canada.” We shall consider this matter in the Book dealing with the other ethnic groups.

Subsection 5

425. We think attention should be drawn to the anomaly which would persist should subsection 2 of the new section 133—requiring, like the other clauses, unanimous agreement of the provinces and the central government—not be adopted. Quebec would in fact be the only province subject to the terms of section 133, so long as the others were

A possible anomaly

(or were not) officially bilingual by their own, always reversible, decision. Should self-determination in language continue to exist only in the English-speaking provinces, the principle of equality, at least on the provincial level, would be gravely compromised. Should all other solutions fail, such a situation might lead Quebec to question its own constitutionally bilingual character. This is a political aspect of the problem which ought to be kept in mind.

C. Federal Official Languages Act

426. Our proposals for the establishment of bilingual districts do not, in themselves, necessitate any amendment to the B.N.A. Act. The federal and provincial legislatures actually have all the necessary powers to implement these recommendations without resorting to constitutional change. In fact the creation of bilingual districts will be the responsibility of both provincial and federal authorities.

Federal leadership

427. However, we feel that the federal government's duty is not only to initiate but also to show leadership in establishing bilingual districts, because the federal government is the only institution common to all Canadians.

428. Federal action should first be concerned with providing a wider legal basis for Canada's two official languages. Even though it is in fact necessary to revise section 133 of the B.N.A. Act along the lines we have suggested, we believe that the federal government must legislate at once on language matters in order to give French and English equal status within its own jurisdiction; and must help create the necessary institutions and mechanisms to ensure the establishment and effective operation of a number of officially bilingual districts.

Official Languages Act

429. The keystone of any general programme of bilingualism in Canada should be a federal "Official Languages Act," the main aims of which will be:

- a) to ensure that Canadian citizens can deal with federal administrative and judicial bodies in the two official languages;
- b) to provide for the appointment of a high state official, independent of the government, with responsibility for inquiring into and reporting upon the implementation of the federal Official Languages Act;
- c) to give the Governor in Council the necessary authority for negotiating with the provincial and local authorities involved—in the latter case with the consent of the province concerned—to widen the opportunities for Canadian citizens to deal with the branches of government in both official languages.

430. Moreover, every officially bilingual province and, ideally, every province which sets up bilingual districts or helps to establish them within its borders, should pass a provincial Official Languages Act. Later we shall describe the nature and objectives of such legislation which, like its federal counterpart, will define the rights of the citizens of the province with respect to the official languages.

431. The Official Languages Act should state certain basic principles concerning the rights and privileges of Canadians with respect to the use of French and English at the federal level. It will establish the right of every Canadian citizen to deal with the central offices of the federal administration—and with their branches in any bilingual region or district—in the official language of his choice, and to receive an answer in that language. It should also define the right of any person prosecuted for a criminal offence to have not only the services of counsel—provided for in the Bill of Rights—but also, at his choice, with respect to the official languages, the services of an interpreter—a privilege now granted at the discretion of the court. It should also stipulate that all agreements or international treaties concluded by Canada must appear in an English and in a French version, both of which must be approved and signed by Canada and the other contracting party. In other respects, there should be more specific provisions governing the use of French and English in the federal Public Service.

Basic principles
and leading
provisions

432. As far as the legislative function of the Canadian Parliament is concerned, the federal Official Languages Act should provide, in particular:

- a) that on promulgation of any order or regulation of public concern by the Governor in Council, a minister, a Crown corporation, or other agency, that order or regulation shall be published simultaneously in English and French in the *Canada Gazette*;
- b) that all councils, commissions, or conferences which are entirely or partially federal in character, must make their publications available simultaneously in English and French;
- c) that any resident of a bilingual district shall be able to obtain on request an official translation of any ordinance, notice, or regulation concerning that district from one of the regional or local offices of the government situated within that district;
- d) that the *Revised Statutes of Canada* and the annual statutes shall be published with parallel French and English versions of the laws appearing on each page, or on facing pages.

433. To establish the right and duty of the Governor in Council to encourage provincial and municipal authorities to co-operate in

establishing and satisfactorily administering bilingual districts, the federal Official Languages Act should further provide:

a) that the Governor in Council may make an agreement with any province wishing to recognize French and English officially within its own administrative and judicial services, so as to share equitably with the province the additional costs involved;

b) that, with the consent of the province concerned, the Governor in Council may make an agreement with any local authority where an official-language group constitutes an important minority, for the purpose of sharing with that authority the cost of establishing and maintaining services which will provide recognition of the language of the minority group.

434. This law should also authorize the Governor in Council, while maintaining continuous liaison with the officer of state responsible for matters affecting the official languages, to establish, in co-operation with one or several provinces, a number of bilingual districts; and to ensure that their language régimes are properly administered at the federal level. The Official Languages Act should also empower the Governor in Council to appoint an officer of state for language matters, who might be styled the "Commissioner of Official Languages."

The
Commissioner:
his function

435. The Commissioner of Official Languages in Canada should play a dual role. In the first place, he will be the active conscience—actually the protector—of the Canadian public where the official languages are concerned. His duty will be to examine particular cases in which the federal authorities have failed to respect the rights and the privileges of individuals or groups of Canadians. The Commissioner will in a sense play the role of a federal "linguistic ombudsman" by receiving and bringing to light the grievance of any residents concerning the official languages. The extent to which he will be concerned with the application of subsection 5 of the proposed new section 133 will be discussed in another Book.

436. The Commissioner of Official Languages will also offer criticism of the manner in which the federal Official Languages Act is implemented. He will have to scrutinize the linguistic aspects of the acts of the federal government and its representatives in their relations with the public in all parts of the country, and especially in the federal capital and in the bilingual districts. Since he will have to report annually, the Commissioner will, in matters of language, function at the federal level as the Auditor General functions respecting government expenditures and property.

437. Besides being the protector of the Canadian public and the critic of the federal government in matters respecting the official languages, the Commissioner of Official Languages could also act provisionally as an adviser to the Governor in Council until the first group of bilingual districts has been established.

438. We envisage the powers and duties of the Commissioner of Official Languages, as we have conceived his role, to be mainly of two kinds. He should have wide powers of inquiry, including the power to obtain copies of letters, reports, files, and other documents deemed necessary to his scrutiny of the application of the federal Official Languages Act by the federal government. He should also be able to question under oath any federal public servant whose testimony might be useful to him in his role of critic in matters pertaining to the official languages. In other respects, he should be able to receive and, if necessary, make public any complaint from citizens or groups of citizens concerning the use of Canada's two official languages. He should, for this purpose, enjoy wide discretionary powers within the federal jurisdiction. It goes without saying that the Commissioner should have a sizable staff at his disposal.

Powers and
duties

439. As we mentioned above, the Commissioner of Official Languages would be appointed by the Governor in Council in accordance with the provisions of the federal Official Languages Act. His appointment might be for seven years, renewable until retirement age. This would allow him the fullest freedom from federal government interference, and would thus give him the necessary authority to carry out his duties. During his term of office the Commissioner could be dismissed only on petition of both Houses of Parliament. He should, in fact, be accountable directly to Parliament and not to the Governor in Council. He should be able to inform Parliament, at least annually, of the result of his scrutiny and of his recommendations concerning the application of the federal Official Languages Act. He would have high moral authority through his influence on the Canadian public and the government and Parliament of Canada, and could well become one of Canada's most effective instruments making for equality of the two official languages. The practical effect of establishing the new officially bilingual regions or districts in Canada would depend on the Commissioner's initiative and the scope of the federal and provincial laws respecting the official languages. To sum up, **we recommend: a) that the federal Parliament adopt a federal Official Languages Act; b) that the Governor in Council appoint a Commissioner of Official Languages charged with ensuring respect for the status of French and English in Canada.**

Appointment,
mandate, and
term of office

*D. Provincial Official Languages Acts*Complementary
legislation

440. We have said that it is essential for the federal government to lead in the development of bilingual districts in Canada, and in the enactment of an Official Languages Act. We believe this leadership will be valuable even if provinces fail to follow suit, but federal action alone will obviously be incomplete and insufficient without provincial co-operation. The creation of all the conditions necessary for equal partnership cannot result from the action of a single level of government. It requires a common policy and joint planning for those areas where governments deal with minority groups.

441. Our aim is to provide the minorities in bilingual districts with similar treatment and recognition from all the government agencies with which they have to deal. Some services will be exclusively federal, others provincial or municipal, yet the citizen should feel in every circumstance that his language rights are respected. Provincial law and federal law should therefore complement each other. We do not believe absolute uniformity across Canada to be possible or desirable. We have already indicated some of the variations that may occur between the officially bilingual provinces and the others or between bilingual districts and metropolitan areas. But within officially bilingual provinces (Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick), we believe linguistic rights should be stated clearly in the law and rendered as uniform as possible.

The officially
bilingual
provinces

442. The extension of a revised section 133 of the Constitution to New Brunswick and Ontario, as we have seen, would of itself establish certain rights to the use of the two official languages. But we believe that in all three officially bilingual provinces there should be an Official Languages Act similar in purpose to that recommended in the federal field. These provincial statutes should set out in one text as many special and individual rights as can be conveniently codified.

443. We suggest that different sections in this statute relate to different functions of government. For instance, the whole field of municipal government, exclusively within provincial jurisdiction, could be provided with rules for the use of the two languages in council debates, in the drafting and publication of by-laws, in communication with various municipal departments, in proceedings before the municipal courts, and in other equivalent ways. Provision would be made also for the exemption of municipalities from these obligations where the population distribution justified it.

444. Similarly, a further section in such an Official Languages Act would deal with the activities of provincial boards and commissions. Many of these bodies deal with the entire population of a province, and certain of their regulations and publications should be made available

in both languages, as is now the practice in Quebec. At their central offices, provision should be made for handling correspondence in either language. Branch offices in bilingual districts would come under the general rules applicable in those regions. Furthermore, all important orders-in-council should be in both English and French in officially bilingual provinces.

445. If the proposed amendment to the B.N.A. Act is adopted, the administration of justice in officially bilingual provinces will be governed by the new section 133. In Quebec, through long experience and practice, the rights of the English minority to pleadings and procedures in their language are well established, even though some difficulties have sometimes been found to exist. The introduction of similar principles into New Brunswick and Ontario, where there has been no previous experience, will be more difficult and many factors will have to be considered. The Quebec Code of Civil Procedure sets out important linguistic rights; it would be unnecessary to repeat these in a general Official Languages Act. Similarly, the other two officially bilingual provinces will have equivalent rules of practice where these rights could be better provided. We do not believe that the enactment of an Official Languages Act, important as it is, would eliminate all other special rules applicable in particular situations and covered now or in the future in special statutes. Yet as far as possible the linguistic rights should be gathered together in a single document, both for its symbolic and its practical value.

446. We think the officially bilingual provinces should appoint a counterpart to the federal Commissioner of Official Languages so as to ensure compliance with the laws within their own jurisdiction. This officer should be given security of tenure for a reasonable term, and be answerable to the legislature or to a standing committee thereof. Like his federal counterpart, he can act as adviser to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council until the creation of the first bilingual districts in his province. He may have to prepare part of the documentation for agreements negotiated between the provincial and federal authorities for the location and establishment of these districts. He will subsequently receive all complaints relating to the enforcement of the Act and will have the right of inquiry into the activities of the government departments concerned as well as access to their files and documents. He will report annually to his legislature.

447. In provinces not officially bilingual, an Official Languages Act will be less necessary. However, in all of these provinces there are French-speaking minorities, entitled to certain linguistic rights vis-à-vis their provincial government. We have already described these for

The other
provinces

residents of bilingual districts in such provinces. But some provision must be made for Francophones outside bilingual districts. The central provincial administration should at least provide translation services, so communications could be addressed to individuals in either of the official languages.

448. We have not suggested that the language rights in the schools should form part of the provincial Official Languages Act, because we will treat them fully in a later Book. In short, **we recommend: a) that the legislature of each officially bilingual province adopt an Official Languages Act; b) that each officially bilingual province establish, for its own purposes, a post equivalent to that of the federal Commissioner of Official Languages.**

449. In this first Book of our Report we have proposed a new charter for the official languages of Canada, a charter founded upon the concept of equal partnership. We have seen that, in a country such as ours, this principle cannot be applied in any mechanical way: some of our proposals are complex but we believe that they are in keeping with the equally complex realities of the situation.

450. The nature of our subject has led us to focus our attention on the official-language minorities. Majorities generally can and do effectively assert their interests and defend themselves, and governments have to listen to them. Minorities are always liable to be overlooked, even in a régime of equality. The minority needs legal protection—fair play demands it. But that is not all: the impossibility of living a full life in French outside Quebec (and even in certain parts of Quebec) is certainly one cause of the present crisis in Canada. Living in French must be made possible in every part of Canada where there are enough French-speaking people. Linguistic equality will exist in Canada only if Francophones are treated in other provinces as Anglophones now are in Quebec.

451. We have spoken at length about governments, because we felt it was important to define the legal framework for equal partnership. The language used by the individual in his dealings with the three levels of government has both a great potential importance and a definite symbolic value. And governments, by their attitudes, often set examples for everyone.

452. At the same time, we have tried throughout our analysis to devise our proposals with the individual in mind. In recommending measures of a general nature we have tried to take into account their

impact on the daily life of the individual Canadian. This is one of our main reasons for recommending the creation of bilingual districts, because it is on the district level that our proposals will most directly affect people's day-to-day lives.

453. In some of our forthcoming Books¹ we shall be concentrating on social and economic life, and we shall examine the principal institutions of the country in terms of the two official languages and dominant cultures. The Commission need not concern itself with the objectives of these institutions, public or private. We have not studied, for example, all the problems of the Public Service, of education, or of the mass media. Yet in each of these institutions, the issue of language and culture continually arises, and in each case it is intimately linked to the activities of the institution itself. It is in these institutions—at school, at work, in every situation where there is communication between people—that the future of English and French in Canada is to be decided. In fact, it would be more accurate to speak of the future of French language and culture, for English is in a position of strength in North America. French language and culture will flourish in Canada to the extent that conditions permit them to be truly present and creative.

¹ For a complete list of subsequent Books, *see* Preface, xvii-xviii.

We recommend that English and French be formally declared the official languages of the Parliament of Canada, of the federal courts, of the federal government, and of the federal administration. (§270)

We recommend that the provinces of New Brunswick and Ontario themselves declare that they recognize English and French as official languages and that they accept the language régimes that such recognition entails. (§293)

We recommend that any province whose official-language minority reaches or exceeds 10 per cent declare that it recognizes French and English as official languages and that it accepts the language régime that such recognition entails. (§303)

We recommend that the provinces other than Quebec, New Brunswick, and Ontario declare that both English and French may be used in the debates in their legislatures and that these provinces provide appropriate services in French for their French-speaking minorities. (§324)

We recommend that bilingual districts be established throughout Canada and that negotiations between the federal government and the provincial government concerned define the exact limits of each bilingual district. (§341)

Should the negotiations between the federal government and a province break off before agreement, we recommend that each, acting in its own right, immediately declare officially bilingual, for its purposes, areas which it has itself delineated. (§346)

To begin with I would like to make plain that I endorse the Report as a whole. It therefore bears my signature, though on the understanding that I would indicate one point on which I do not share my colleagues' views.

The Commission devoted itself to defining the term "official bilingualism" and applying its definition to Canadian reality. This was a long and laborious task which, in my humble opinion, has not cleared away all traces of confusion.

I respect my colleagues' point of view. However, after a process of dialectic which I personally consider too severe, the Commission concludes by restricting the meaning of the words within narrower confines than those allowed by the dictionary. I find the definition at which the Commission arrived "for reasons of practicality" too rigid; besides, it corresponds neither to the views of the French-speaking minorities, as I came to know them during the inquiry, nor to the thought of many influential English Canadians—particularly that which is just now taking shape.

At one point the Report uses the expression "complete linguistic régime" in reference to the special case of the three "more bilingual" provinces; this type of phraseology seems more fitting to me. I am of the opinion that the other provinces, even if they do not reach the same degree of completeness, can and should be described as "officially bilingual" if they accept the régime we are proposing.

Is this just a question of words—or is it another example of the eternal conflict between the idealists and the realists?

Whatever the answer to that question may be, this statement is prompted not by the essentials of the Report but by the meaning—too arbitrarily radical, in my view—given the word "official," above all in the footnote to §214.

I would judge, therefore, that Canadian provinces accepting the recommendations in this first Book will become "officially bilingual" *ipso facto*. Census figures will help in determining the extent of services to be offered in the two languages. But the "official" quality of

the minority's language will derive essentially from an act of recognition by the political authority rather than from proportions or numbers abstracted from the census.

Once again, my reservations do not prevent me either from endorsing the whole Report or from respecting my colleagues' views, even on this point of disagreement.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Clément Cormier" followed by a stylized flourish.

CLÉMENT CORMIER, C.S.C.

October 24, 1967

Without prejudice to the generality and validity of the Report and Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism as presented in this Book, and without excluding the possibility of major changes in the fundamental law of the country (even an entirely new Constitution), I subscribe with the other Commissioners to the minimal changes in the B.N.A. Act as proposed in this Report. In my opinion, the amendments to sections 93 and 133 of the B.N.A. Act are sufficient to meet the needs for a constitutional aggiornamento of Canadian public life for the time being.

Yet, while accepting in principle the decision to recommend certain changes in the B.N.A. Act, I firmly believe that supplementary considerations and additional recommendations are necessary if our Report has to stand the test of time, and if I personally am to be satisfied and convinced that our work was well done.

Hence my separate statement.

Terms of Reference

The terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism imply in two instances the consideration of the languages of the "other ethnic groups." First the Commission is requested "... to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada. . . ."

The proposed amendments assume that the words "bilingualism and biculturalism" mean French and English bilingualism and biculturalism. In my opinion, the passage implies an objective consideration not only of the official English-French or French-English bilingualism but also of all other forms of bilingualism in Canada. This is also the understanding of the "state of bilingualism" of well-known linguists and sociologists in this country: "Qui dit en effet 'bilinguisme' ne dit pas forcément 'bilinguisme

franco-anglais'. . . Il y a d'autres bilinguismes, en général orientés dans le même sens, l'anglais exerçant presque partout sa force d'attraction. Ces bilinguismes posent plusieurs problèmes particuliers. . . ."¹ "L'emploi des langues est demeuré une question fort indécise. . . . On ne saurait définir exactement le bilinguisme canadien, le statut des langues officielles au pays et celui des autres langues usitées."²

Further, according to the terms of reference, the Commission is obliged to take "into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada. . . ." Since its language is one of the most important components of any culture, languages other than English and French must be considered in an examination of the cultural contribution and cultural enrichment of Canada by the other ethnic groups.

Two main aspects of the problem of official bilingualism and the languages of the other ethnic groups emerge for discussion: first, the place of the other languages in the context of official Canadian bilingualism and, second, the linguistic contribution of the other ethnic groups as part of their general contribution to the cultural enrichment of Canada.

The Commission's terms of reference ask for recommendations with regard to "steps to be taken to safeguard this contribution." This brings one to a subject which in my opinion is not adequately dealt with in the Commission's suggested constitutional amendments—the position of the regional languages in Canada.

Regional Languages in Canada

In its large territory Canada embraces many geographical regions—the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies, British Columbia, and the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. A closer examination of the ethno-lingual patterns in those regions reveals that, besides English and French, various mother tongues are used in person-to-person and group-to-group social interrelations. Some of those languages form small islands or enclaves, but some are stretched over considerable areas of the existing political administrative units—provinces, territories, districts. Some of them are ancient and aboriginal, while others are of a more recent provenance.

According to generally accepted linguistic classification, languages in Canada might be grouped into three main categories—indigenous, colonial, and immigrant languages.

The first group comprises a great variety of language families known as Eskimo and Indian (Amerindian). They had gone through a long development on this continent before the coming of the white man, with some of them isolated, some nomadic, and some extending their dominion over others.

¹ J.-P. Vinay, "Problèmes de bilinguisme au Canada," paper delivered at UNESCO International Seminar on Bilingualism, University of Moncton, June 1967, pp. 18-19. "When we speak of bilingualism, we are not necessarily speaking of French-English bilingualism. . . . There exist other forms of bilingualism, with English generally being one of the languages involved, because of its strength almost everywhere. These forms of bilingualism raise several special problems. . . ."

² J. Brazeau, "Une politique de la langue au Québec et au Canada," *Le Devoir*, June 30, 1967, p. 20. "The use of languages has always been up in the air. . . . We cannot give an exact definition of Canadian bilingualism, of the status of Canada's official languages and of the other languages spoken throughout the country."

The colonial languages were established by peoples who were able to take hold and maintain their domination in Canada, thus ensuring the continuation of their own languages in this country. Two colonial tongues—English and French—succeeded in establishing themselves as official languages of Canada.

The third category, immigrant languages, includes Icelandic, German, Ukrainian, Polish, Yiddish, Italian, and many others; they were brought by settlers to areas where official unilingual or bilingual régimes were previously established.

A special mention should be made of languages of that group which belonged originally to the colonial category, but in consequence of specific historical circumstances became immigrant languages. To such a category the Russian and Ukrainian languages belong. In the 18th century, the Eastern Slavs had firmly established themselves on the Pacific Coast of North America. The expansion of the Russian and Ukrainian languages in this area was connected with the development of the Russian American Company (1799). This expansion was curtailed twice, first in 1825 and later in 1867. Today both Russian and Ukrainian belong to the group of immigrant languages, rather than that of the colonial languages.

In considering the regional languages in Canada, it is obvious that they belong either to the first or third category. It is also obvious that among the indigenous and immigrant languages some are minor, numerically insignificant, and others are major, stretching through considerable areas of the country. Among the latter are the Eskimo-Indian languages in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, Slavic (Ukrainian), and German languages in the Prairie Provinces, and Italian in the metropolitan areas of Toronto and Montreal.

Three main branches of the Indo-European language family spread throughout the world in medieval and modern times: a) *Teutonic* (Germanic)—English in Europe, Africa, North America, Australia and New Zealand; b) *Romance* (Latin)—French in Europe, Africa, and North America; Spanish and Portuguese in Central and South America; c) *Slavic*—Russian and Ukrainian in Eastern Europe, Northern Asia and North America.

No other language families of the Indo-European stock can claim the same global status in terms of their expansion.

In Canada the above groups are represented as follows: Teutonic, spoken by 11,608,000 people; Romance spoken by 5,473,000 people; and Slavic, spoken by 667,000 people.

English and French in Canada have official status. As far as the regional languages are concerned, the following lead quantitatively: German, Italian, and Ukrainian in the Teutonic, Romance, and Slavic language groups respectively.

There are no leading languages in the Eskimo-Indian group, which are spoken by 167,000 people, nor among the other languages, which have 407,000 claimants of various linguistic backgrounds.

Thus German, Italian, and Ukrainian should be regarded not only as major regional languages, but also as the representative languages of the main immigrant linguistic families in Canada.

To illustrate the geographical distribution of one major regional language in Canada, the map "Distribution of the Ukrainian Language in the Prairie Provinces in 1961" is presented on page 159.

According to the 1961 census there is a belt, stretching from southeastern Manitoba to the regions of Edmonton and Peace River in Alberta, where Ukrainian is spoken by 10 per cent or more of the population. This belt is buffered with marginal areas where less than 10 per cent speak Ukrainian. There is also a linking area between Saskatchewan and Alberta with 5 per cent or less speaking the language. The next map illustrates the geographic distribution of the Ukrainian ethnic group. Basically it covers the same territory, although in some instances it exceeds the area shown in the first map. Thus, with only few exceptions, the linguistic distribution of Ukrainians in the Prairie Provinces is identical with their ethnic distribution. As can be seen from the second map, "the Ukrainian ethnic belt" in the Prairies is also buffered by marginal areas stretching on both sides of this belt and showing less than 10 per cent of ethnic claimants.

Similar maps showing German ethno-lingual concentration in the Prairies can be presented.

The following common features of both languages can be revealed:

a) They stretch through larger contiguous census tracts in close geographic proximity, thus differing from the smaller rural and urban enclaves by their territorial extension, their relative geographical constancy, and their sporadic expansion over the other ethnic groups.

b) They have been in functional use by individuals and groups continuously for 50, 75, 100 or more years without significantly changing their regional concentration.

c) They have created a rich oral and written Canadian tradition expressed in folklore as well as in literary and artistic works, mostly unknown to English- or French-speaking Canadians.

d) They continue to be functional in various spheres of individual, family, and community life.

The above considerations led me to the conclusion that there is an objective need to recognize some extra privileges for the languages of ethnic groups in regions where there is a concentration of speakers of a particular mother tongue. I believe that the following languages are spoken by enough people to be considered: Eskimo-Indian in the Northwest Territories and Yukon, German and Ukrainian in the Prairie Provinces, Italian in the metropolitan areas of Toronto and Montreal.

No other unofficial languages can compare with these in their degree of concentration and contiguousness, their expansive-fundamental role in community life, and the richness and variety of their oral and literary tradition in Canada.

I believe the conclusions from the above considerations to be evident *per se*. Among the various unofficial languages, these should be recognized as regional languages of Canada with the following provisions:

a) preference in education (as subjects or media of instruction at the elementary, high school, and university levels, the latter to include the establishment of federally supported non-denominational regional universities);

b) preferred use in the mass media (press, radio, television);

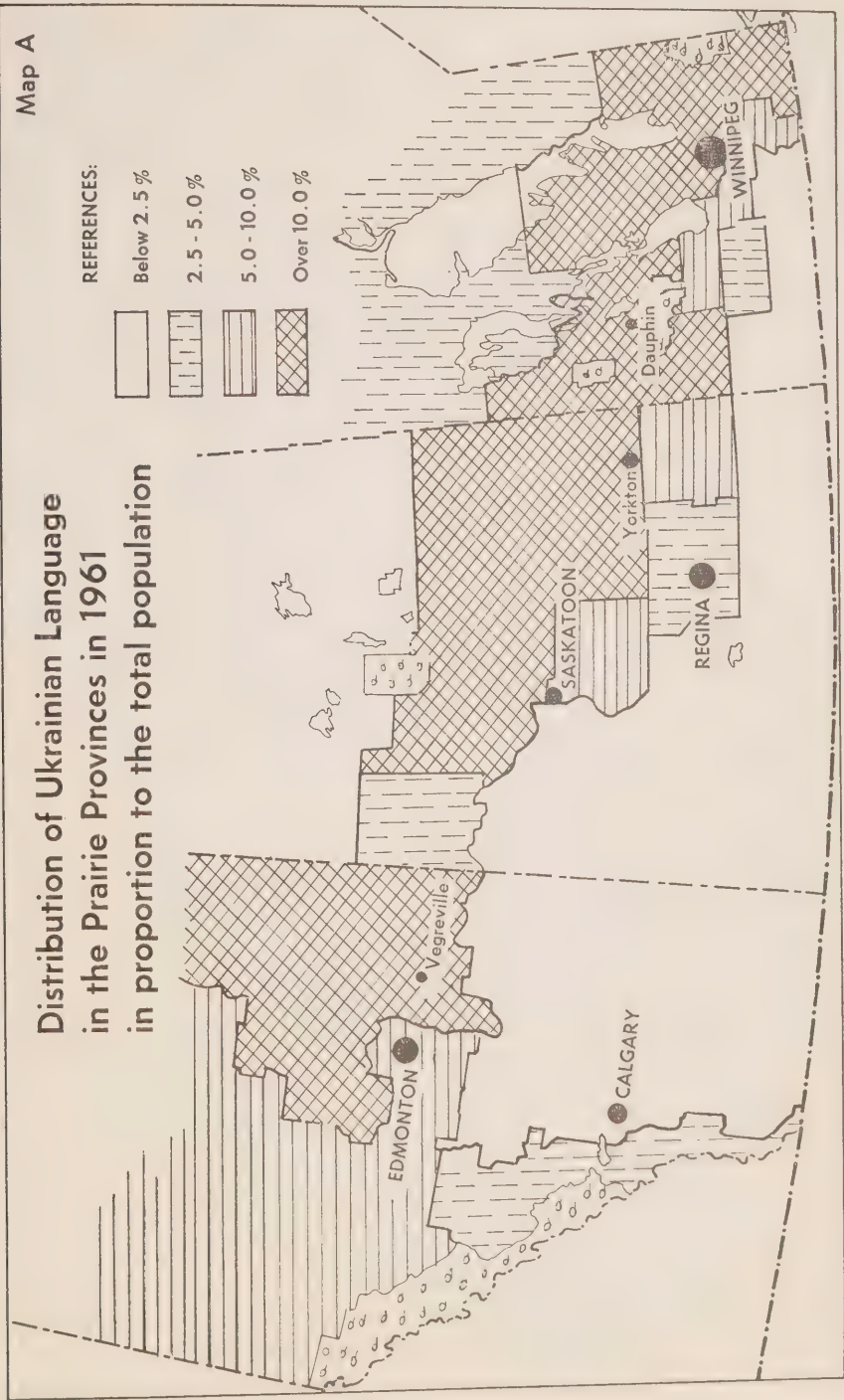
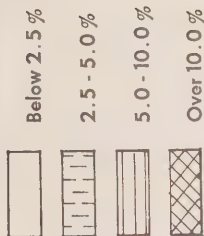
c) usage in the internal organizational and institutional life of the respective groups;

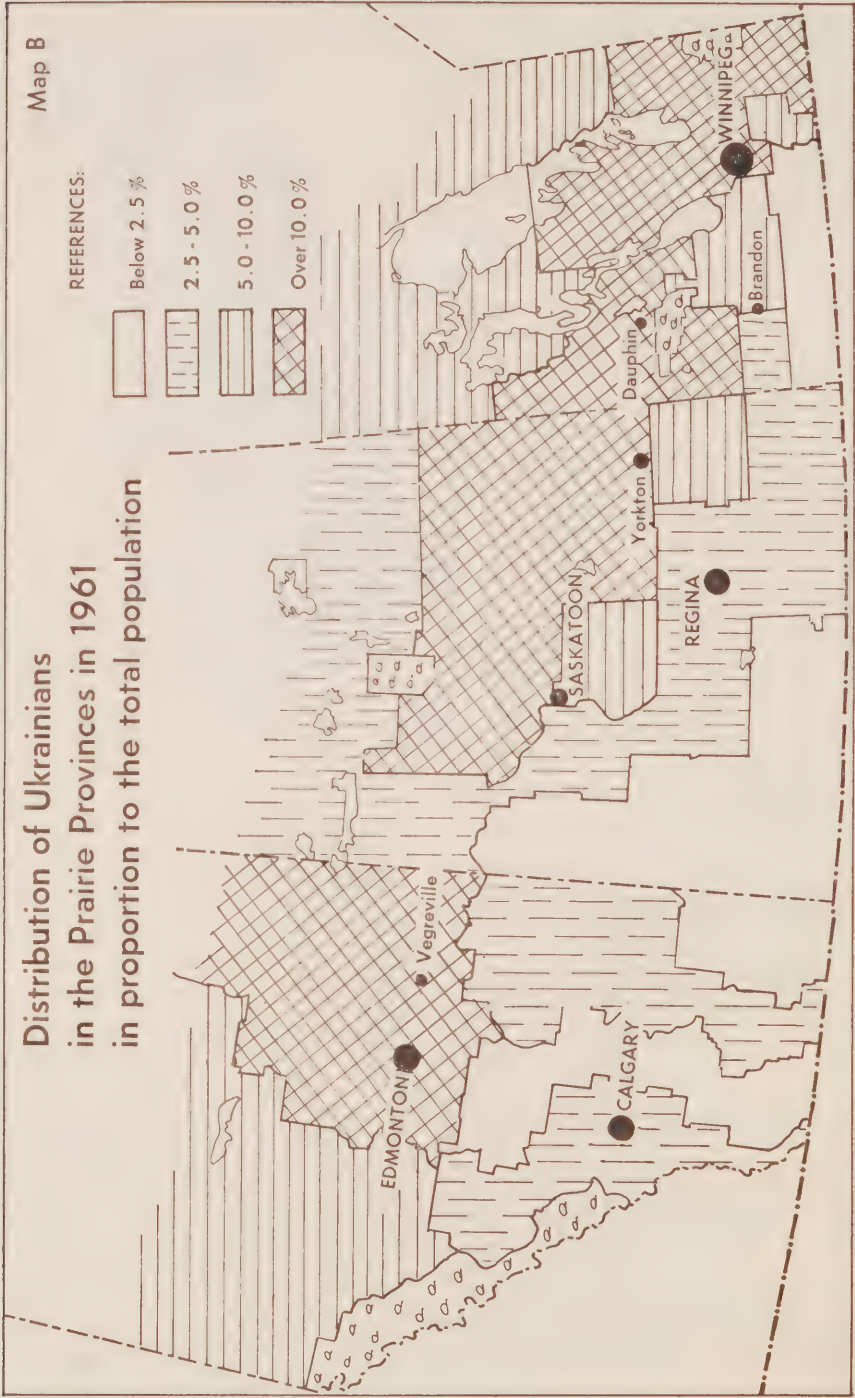
d) in other functions and for such purposes as the governments concerned may specify and approve as a response to public demand.

Map A

Distribution of Ukrainian Language
in the Prairie Provinces in 1961
in proportion to the total population

REFERENCES:





Types of Bilingualism; Attitudes

Having in view the objective lingual data on the one hand, and the legal (constitutional) status of languages spoken in Canada on the other, two main types of bilingualism are distinguishable:

a) official bilingualism: English-French or (in Quebec in particular) French-English. According to the 1961 census, 2,231,172 (12 per cent) of the total population is officially bilingual in Canada;

b) regional bilingualism: knowledge and use of one of the official languages (English or French) along with another mother tongue. The main types of such bilingualism in Canada are English-German, English-Italian, English-Ukrainian, and French-Italian, French-Ukrainian, French-German.

Apart from the above types of bilingualism, there are also other marginal types. One of them is unofficial bilingualism—knowledge and use of languages other than English and French; for example, Russian-German, Ukrainian-Icelandic, Eskimo-Indian, and so on. According to the 1961 census there were 232,447 persons (1 per cent of the total population) knowing no English nor French; some of them, however, must have been unofficially bilingual.

There is a special category of extended bilingualism or multilingualism—knowledge of both official languages in addition to other regional ones, such as English-French-German-Ukrainian, English-French-Italian-German, and so on. This type of multilingualism is an individual phenomenon, occurring among persons with special linguistic interests and training.

There is a considerable variety of attitudes towards official and other kinds of bilingualism in Canada.

A special chapter of the Report deals with this problem, in particular with the attitudes of the English Canadians and French Canadians towards official bilingualism. Without going into details, I would like to summarize my findings and experiences in this respect. On one side I want to present an objective assessment of the attitudes of the other ethnic groups towards bilingualism in Canada, on the other the approaches and aspirations of English and French Canadians towards the minority languages in this country.

The most vocal group of non-English and non-French Canadians interprets Canadian bilingualism in terms of its universally (internationally) accepted definition and in terms of its oldest historically documented notion in Canada—that of the Laurier-Greenway agreement of 1897. In this connection Canadian bilingualism is claimed to be the knowledge and habitual use of the English language in addition to the other mother tongues, including French. Moreover, such bilingualism is claimed to be “official” because it was “officially” introduced and implemented between 1897 and 1916 in Manitoba under a federal-provincial agreement. In confronting this agreement with the terms of reference of the Commission it is emphasized that the latter look back into the history of Canada while the Laurier-Greenway agreement tried to look into the future of the country. The adherents of this view firmly reject the restriction of the term “official bilingualism” to English-French or French-English bilingualism only.

There are other people who base their attitudes on a "precedental" interpretation of section 133 of the B.N.A. Act, claiming that English-French bilingualism is a constitutionally instituted linguistic phenomenon in the province of Quebec only. However, they consider the constitutional guarantees of French by the B.N.A. Act as a legal precedent for the other ethnic languages which appeared later on the Canadian scene, in particular for German, Ukrainian, and Italian—the three major languages of the country following English and French. While claiming rights for all the languages spoken in Canada to be named "Canadian," the adherents of this view foresee for at least German, Ukrainian, and Italian a similar status in their respective areas as that of French in Quebec.

In this view, the ideal Canadian of the future stemming from the other ethnic groups should know his own mother tongue in addition to English—the common linguistic denominator not only of Canada but of the whole North American continent.

Another concept of Canadian bilingualism is advanced by a relatively small fraction of the other ethnic groups adhering to the idea of "two nations" in Canada. They follow some radical French elements in Quebec, seeking the dissolution of the Canadian Union and its disintegration into two equal states or nations: Quebec "libre" and (the rest of) Canada. The only official national language of the new state of Quebec should be French, and that of the new state of Canada should be English. French-English, French-Italian, French-Polish, and other kinds of bilingualism in Quebec should be a private matter of the citizens or groups concerned, including English. According to this view, the ideal Quebecker of non-French origin in the new state should know only French or French in addition to his mother tongue, and the ideal Canadian would need to know only English, or English in addition to his mother tongue.

The category of moderately minded Canadians of non-British and non-French origins, however, shows a remarkable degree of agreement and positive support for constitutional recognition, use, and teaching of the two official languages in Canada from coast to coast, and for a greater degree of official bilingualism in the federal and provincial governments as well as in public services. These people are firmly convinced of the utility and the future survival of the French language in this country. There is no objection on their side to the role of French as the language of instruction in public schools where it is warranted by general demand. While recognizing and supporting the idea of a broad application of official bilingualism in Canada, the adherents of this attitude foresee the preservation of other ethnic languages in addition to the two official languages in bilingual provinces and districts, and, in the context of regional bilingualism (English *or* French plus another language), in provinces and districts where unilingualism (English or French) now prevails. However, in either case, the adoption of other ethnic languages as subjects of instruction is strongly emphasized.

According to this view, the ideal Canadian of the future stemming from the other ethnic groups should be "extensively bilingual" (at least trilingual). He should know his mother tongue in addition to the two official languages of the country—English and French.

As far as the attitudes of English and French Canadians toward minority languages are concerned, here also a considerable variety of manners, feelings, and dispositions may be observed.

Most people are aware that the Canadian linguistic situation reflects in microcosm the global variety of tongues. They know that Canada, as few other countries in the world, has an obligation to do its best in language planning on a national level to comply not only with the internal needs in this domain, but also to face the linguistic reality in the modern world and to play its role on the international level. Consequently, their attitudes toward languages of other ethnic groups are favourable; they understand the needs of various minorities in the linguistic, educational, and cultural fields and they support the endeavours of every group to safeguard and to develop its linguistic and cultural treasures.

Yet, the history of the other ethnic groups in Canada knows also negative attitudes on the side of the dominant ethno-lingual groups towards minority languages and cultures. The wide range of manners and trends, of feelings and dispositions, has impeded to a great degree the development of other languages in Canada and caused their decline. One of the main reasons for this decline and even eventual extinction is the lack of formal recognition of these languages in the fundamental law of the country. Strange as it may seem, there is a conviction shared by quite a few Canadians of English and French origin that only the two official languages should be privileged to have constitutional recognition in Canada. Meanwhile, such recognition is, in my opinion, vital for the retention and further development of the other ethnic languages in this country. It is also essential for diminishing the discriminatory attitudes of some Canadians towards "non-Canadian" languages (as they are sometimes branded), and for raising their low-prestige status in comparison with languages formally recognized by the Constitution.

Effects of discriminatory attitudes of the dominant group towards minority languages are numerous. They vary from time to time, from place to place.

Statements emphasizing the need for formal recognition of minority languages as *conditio sine qua non* for their use and appreciation in Canada have been made time and time again.

According to findings presented by Dr. Jan L. Perkowski of the University of Texas at the second conference on Canadian Slavs, held in Ottawa June 11, 1967:

In the cities, the Slavic languages are usually lost by the third generation with all members of the second generation being bilingual in English. Therefore, one can make the general statement that rural Slavs retain their ancestral languages at least one generation longer than urban Slavs. This is of course due to the greater mobility of population in cities and the stronger pressures for acculturation which are found there. However, modern means of communication such as television, jet planes, and automobiles tend to accelerate acculturation among the rural Slavs as well. The trend toward loss is obvious. Therefore, if any general study is ever to be made of Slavic speech in Canada, it *must* be made now. In a generation or two the opportunity will be completely lost.

This realistic opinion about the Slavic languages in Canada might well be applied to other minority languages, not protected by constitutional provisions. Otherwise, to quote Dr. Perkowski again, "the process of linguistic assimilation will soon bring about their extinction."

Incidents of discriminatory attitudes towards non-official languages were brought up by a number of people during the Commission's hearings across the country.

For example, speaking on behalf of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada during the Commission's Toronto hearings, Mrs. Ann Tokarek of Hamilton related a significant incident which took place in her own home during the census-taking in 1961:

... the census-taker came to the house and when she knew that the mother tongue in my house was Ukrainian she was really rude. She said, 'You live in Canada; you were born in Canada, and yet you do not speak English in your house.' My children were bilingual from the first, but it is everybody's privilege to speak the language they want in their home. . . . I believe that the government, or even the Commission, should make a recommendation that there should be a different way of taking the census; that people who are apt to be prejudiced should not be allowed to go out and put down what they please. . . .

In some cases the public discriminatory attitudes toward languages other than English led to "linguicidal" measures which resulted in the constant decline of the minority languages in Canada.¹

Thus the abolition of bilingual schools in Manitoba by an act of the legislature in 1916 might be termed a linguicidal act. This act was bitterly opposed by the French, German, Ukrainian, and Polish groups, but the reaction was dealt with firmly. The strongest opposition came from the Mennonites; a considerable number of them emigrated to Mexico in 1919, defending German as an instructional language in their schools. After 50 years of "linguistic Babylonian captivity" French was re-established as an instructional language in some districts in Manitoba, and Ukrainian became an elective subject in the high school curriculum.

Linguicide is not confined to restrictive measures only. There are other kinds of linguicidal acts which cause the partial or complete lingual destruction of a community speaking a given language. Some governments deliberately inflict on ethno-lingual groups conditions of cultural backwardness by refusing help in their organic linguistic and cultural development. As a result the low-prestige feeling develops within the groups concerned and lingual switches to dominant languages occur.

Protection of Regional and Other Minority Languages

In countries with more than one official language, there are provisions for the use and protection of the minority languages. In most cases those provisions are formulated in

¹The term "linguicide" was defined by a Special Committee on Linguicide to be presented to the United Nations on the occasion of the International Year for Human Rights, 1968, as follows:

Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part or to prevent the natural development of a language or dialect should be considered as a linguicidal act:

- a) killing members of a community speaking a respective language or dialect (genocide);
- b) imposing repressive measures intended to prevent the natural, organic, development of a language or dialect;
- c) forcibly inflicting on a bilingual community conditions of cultural development calculated to transform it into a unilingual group;
- d) against the will of an ethno-lingual group denying the right of a language to be taught in public schools, to be used in mass media (press, radio, television, etc.);
- e) against the demand of an ethno-lingual group refusing moral and material support for its language maintenance efforts and cultural endeavours.

It is apparent that only measures c) to e) might apply to Canadian reality.

special articles of the constitutions concerned—for example, article 8 of the Constitution of Austria, article 216 of the Constitution of Burma, articles 90 and 86 of the Constitutions of Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics respectively.

With few exceptions those provisions are presented in general terms, as for example, in article 347 of the Constitution of India. The term “regional languages” is introduced and the provisions are defined in very general terms: “On a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognized by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognized throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify.”

One of the most specific and particular formulations of language laws is in the Constitution of Roumania. In its article 82 the following provisions are made for non-Roumanian languages in that country:

The national minorities are guaranteed the free use of their own languages, tuition of all categories in their own languages, and books, newspapers, and theatres in their own languages. In districts inhabited also by populations of a nationality other than Roumanian, all organs and institutions shall use orally and in writing the language of the respective nationalities as well, and shall appoint officials from among the ranks of the respective nationality or of local inhabitants conversant with the language and the way of life of the local population.

In this connection it should be mentioned that the Commission considered also the possibility of constitutional provisions for unofficial languages in the context of a comparison with the Swiss pattern, distinguishing “official” and “national” languages.

It is not only our Commission which is concerned with some kind of recognition to be given to the languages of the other ethnic groups. Canadian thinkers and the objectively-minded public in general expressed, many times and in various occasions, opinions on the necessity of constitutional recognition of those languages.

A book by M. Faribault and R. M. Fowler, *Ten to One—The Confederation Wager*, published in 1965, proposed a new constitution for Canada. The authors discuss the languages of groups other than English and French and suggest a special article 25 concerning the languages of other minorities:

There are several substantial minorities in Canada whose language is neither French or English. In most cases, when they come to this country, they adopt for Canadian use one or other of the two main languages. However, the preservation by these other minorities of their own cultures through the private use of their languages is important to them, and it is valuable to Canada that these other cultures be preserved. We will have a richer national fabric if we can retain the colour and diversity of many cultures. There should be no restraint or restriction on the use in Canada of languages other than French and English for the education of children, the internal administration of minority communities, or their recourse to Canadian Courts.

And here is article 25 as proposed by Faribault-Fowler:

Minorities speaking a language other than either of the two official languages may not be restrained or restricted in their natural development, either by legislation, taxation, or administration, especially as regards the use of such language in the education of their children, the internal administration of their communities, and recourse to the Courts.

In very general terms this view has been expressed in many other published and unpublished works in Canada dealing with other ethnic groups and possible solutions of their language problems. In a paper entitled *Canada's Cultural Heritage: Ukrainian Contribution* (Winnipeg, 1964), O. Woycenko writes:

. . . it should be stressed at this point that some form of acceptance, or official recognition should be given the various languages spoken in Canada, if cultural diversity is to be continued. A pattern which actually exists, is generally acknowledged and is highly appraised by all deeper thinking individuals in this country and elsewhere. More organized efforts are needed to provide opportunities and facilities for all desiring to study the language of their choice. As retrospective statistical data show, Ukrainian (as well as other non-English and non-French languages) in Canada is in decline. Comparing, for instance, the percentage of Ukrainians speaking the mother tongue in 1951, viz. 89.2% of the total Ukrainian population, with that of 1961, it dropped down to 76.4%. In other words, in the last decade approximately 13% of Canadians of Ukrainian origin lost command of their language, in most cases switching to English. This decline in language cultivation is to a great extent due to lack of interest and encouragement which could be achieved, once the languages receive some form of legal recognition and formal status. After all they are an integral part of the Canadian reality and form an important cultural asset, the nurturing of which should be a joint responsibility of us all. . . . (pp. 13-14).

Strong feelings with regard to the constitutional recognition of other languages were expressed in the briefs of various groups submitted to our Commission.

The Canada Ethnic Press Federation, in a brief based on a study by Judge W. J. Lindal of Winnipeg, an ardent supporter of the idea of official bilingualism from coast to coast, had the following to say with regard to constitutional recognition of languages of the other ethnic groups:

The Unofficial Languages

44. a) These languages are spoken or "used" in so many areas in Canada that it would be unrealistic to refer to them as foreign languages. They are the 'mother tongue' of 14% of the population. On the basis of ethnic origin about 26% of the people of Canada are of non-British, non-French origin. They all are at various stages in the selection of English or French as their Canadian mother tongue. Hence it is reasonably fair to say that these people are factually bilingual, English or French being their Canadian tongue and the language of origin their other language.

45. b) These languages have a status in Canada and in some way recognition must be given to them.

The most elaborate recommendation in this respect was submitted in the brief of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences—UVAN of Canada in Winnipeg:

In order to safeguard "the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada" including the contribution of Ukrainian Canadians, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN) recommends as follows:

The present constitution of Canada (B.N.A. Act) should be amended by (or any new future constitution should include) a statement that

1. Canada is a commonwealth of individuals and groups of various cultural backgrounds united by the will to live together as a nation.

2. Canada has two official languages, English and French and several other ethnic tongues which constitute the Canadian linguistic pattern.

In the preamble to this recommendation the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences revealed *vox populi* in this respect:

To explore the attitude of Canadians of Ukrainian descent to the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences undertook a kind of "Gallup Poll" in 1963, mailing a questionnaire direct to individuals and institutions, as well as utilizing the mass media by publishing same in the Ukrainian press in Canada, thereby reaching a cross-section of our society of approximately one hundred thousand individuals.

The following four questions were asked (answers in percentage are given immediately below);

1. Do you think that the Ukrainian language should have the same official status in Canada as English and French?

YES—46%

2. Do you think that the Ukrainian language in Canada should retain the same status as it has up to this time?

YES—3%

3. Do you think that the Ukrainian language should receive some form of constitutional recognition in Canada?

YES—50%

4. Have you any other suggestions to this problem?

1% answered to this question.

The above survey shows that a majority of Canadians of Ukrainian descent are of the opinion that the Ukrainian language in Canada should have its due status within the constitutional provisions of this country.

Out of 100%:

46% of the answers wanted the Ukrainian language to be elevated to the same status as English and French.

50% expressed the wish that the Ukrainian language in Canada be given a constitutional warrant in general.

In other words, 96% of those participating in the survey consider the language to be a basic factor in the preservation of their cultural heritage in Canada, the fostering of which should be encouraged in all possible ways including a constitutional recognition of the language itself.

Conclusion: Recommendation re Proposed New Version of the B.N.A. Act, Section 133

The above considerations have led me to support some form of constitutional recognition of major languages other than English and French in addition to the already approved amendment to section 133 of the B.N.A. Act, and in particular to subsection 5 dealing with the languages of other ethnic groups.

In this connection I recommend:

a) With regard to minor unofficial languages, the renumbering of proposed subsection 5 of the amendment to subsection 6;

b) With regard to major unofficial languages, the adoption of a new subsection 5 of this amendment:

Notwithstanding anything in this section, any language other than English or French used by 10 per cent or more of the population of an appropriate administrative district of a province or territory shall have the status of a regional language; the legislation of the provisions for regional languages shall be vested in the governments concerned.

Consequently, the new version of the recommended amendment to section 133 of the B.N.A. Act is as follows:

1. English and French are the two official languages of Canada.

2. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of Parliament of Canada and in the legislatures of all the provinces, and both languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of the Houses of the legislatures of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec, and either may be used by any person in any pleading or process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from any of the Superior Courts of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec. The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and the legislatures of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec shall be enacted and published in both English and French.

3. The provisions of subsection 2 shall apply to any additional province in which those persons whose mother tongue is either English or French shall reach or exceed 10 per cent of the population of the province; and to any province which declares that English and French are its official languages.

4. Whenever in any province the English- or French-speaking population of the appropriate administrative unit reaches a substantial proportion, this unit shall be constituted into a bilingual district, and there shall be enacted federal and provincial legislation making judicial and administrative services in such bilingual district available in both official languages.

5. Notwithstanding anything in this section, any language other than English and French used by 10 per cent or more of the population of an appropriate administrative district of a province or territory shall have the status of a regional language; the legislation of the provisions for regional languages shall be vested in the governments concerned.

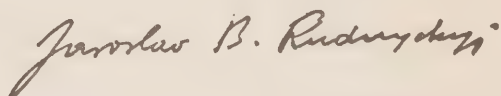
6. Nothing in this section shall be taken to diminish or restrict the use, as established by present or future law or practice, of any other language in Canada.

As was shown above, the major regional immigrant languages in Canada—German, Italian, and Ukrainian—are at the same time the leading languages in their respective family groups: Teutonic, Romance, and Slavic. The new recommended subsection on regional languages provides the necessary checks against any “Balkanization” of the linguistic scene in Canada, since a language to be recognized as a regional language requires the existence of a group of adherents comprising 10 per cent or more of the population in the given region and their willingness to preserve and develop their language as a means of communication and a vehicle of the respective ethnic culture.

Finally, the concept of regional languages, as outlined in the proposed amendment, takes account of the existing Canadian ethno-lingual scene. It not only provides an important

and indisputable legal means to safeguard the cultural contribution of the major ethnic groups, but is also an open-end provision offering opportunities to retain and develop the language and culture of any viable ethno-lingual group in Canada, as requested by the terms of reference of the Commission.

It is evident that if my recommendation is accepted then the proposed federal Official Languages Act and the Commissioner of Official Languages should be changed to federal Languages Act and the Commissioner of Languages in Canada respectively. (See §§426-439).

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "J. B. Rudnycky". The script is cursive and fluid, with the first letters of the first and last names being capitalized and prominent.

J. B. RUDNYCKYJ

August 8, 1967

P.C. 1963-1106

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 19th July, 1963.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, the Prime Minister, advise that

André Laurendeau, Montreal, P.Q.
Davidson Dunton, Ottawa, Ont.
Rev. Clément Cormier, Moncton, N.B.
Royce Frith, Toronto, Ont.
Jean-Louis Gagnon, Montreal, P.Q.
→ Mrs. Stanley Laing, Calgary, Alta.
Jean Marchand,¹ Quebec City, P.Q.
Jaroslav Bodhan Rudnykyj, Winnipeg, Man.
Frank Scott, Montreal, P.Q.
Paul Wyczynski, Ottawa, Ont.

be appointed Commissioners under Part I of the Inquiries Act to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution; and in particular

¹ Jean Marchand's resignation from the Commission was accepted on September 21, 1965. On November 22 of that year Paul Lacoste, formerly one of the Co-Secretaries of the Commission, was appointed to fill the vacancy created by Mr. Marchand's resignation. On May 1, 1966, Prof. Gilles Lalande of the University of Montreal was appointed Co-Secretary.

1. to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration — including Crown corporations — and in their communications with the public and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration;

2. to report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures; and to recommend what should be done to improve that role; and

3. having regard to the fact that constitutional jurisdiction over education is vested in the provinces, to discuss with the provincial governments the opportunities available to Canadians to learn the English and French languages and to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.

The Committee further advise:

- (a) that the Commissioners be authorized to exercise all the powers conferred upon them by section 11 of the Inquiries Act and be assisted to the fullest extent by Government departments and agencies;
- (b) that the Commissioners adopt such procedures and methods as they may from time to time deem expedient for the proper conduct of the inquiry and sit at such times and at such places as they may decide from time to time;
- (c) that the Commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisers as they may require at rates of remuneration and reimbursement to be approved by the Treasury Board;
- (d) that the Commissioners report to the Governor in Council with all reasonable despatch, and file with the Dominion Archivist the papers and records of the Commission as soon as reasonably may be after the conclusion of the inquiry;
- (e) that André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton be co-Chairmen of the Commission and André Laurendeau be Chief Executive Officer thereof.

R. G. ROBERTSON

Clerk of the Privy Council

The Commission held its public hearings during 1965, following the regional meetings of 1964. During the regional meetings, which were dealt with in the *Preliminary Report* of February 1965, the Commissioners were able to grasp the attitudes of several thousand Canadians throughout the country as they discussed the questions raised by the Commission's terms of reference. In the public hearings, on the other hand, briefs written by individuals, groups of individuals, or organizations were presented and discussed. Some of the hearings were held simultaneously in different cities, the Commission having divided in two on these occasions.

Ottawa	March 1, 2, and 3
Montreal	March 15, 16, and 17
Toronto	March 29, 30, and 31
Vancouver	May 11 and 12
Winnipeg	May 17, 18, and 19
Quebec City	June 9 and 10
Halifax	June 14
Moncton	June 16
Montreal	November 29 and 30, December 1
Toronto	November 30, December 1, 2, and 3
Regina	December 6
Edmonton	December 6 and 7
Winnipeg	December 9 and 10
Ottawa	December 13, 14, 15, and 16

The individuals, associations, and organizations listed below presented briefs to the Commission. The Commission also received four confidential briefs whose authors wished to remain anonymous.

L'Accord, Montreal

Agricultural Institute of Canada, Ottawa

Alberta Bilingual Teachers' Association, Edmonton

Allen, Meta C., Quebec

Alliance française de Toronto, Toronto

Amis de la langue française, Calgary

Andrews, R. G., Brampton, Ontario

Anglican Church of Canada: Department of Christian Social Service, Toronto

Anglican Church of Canada: Diocese of Rupert's Land, Fort Garry, Manitoba

Anglin, D. G.; Baril, J. P.; Beesack, P. R.; Cherniak, E. A.; Fleischauer, C. F.; Gifford, H.; Illman, W. I.; Jackson, R.; Kushner, E.; Lloyd, J. E. R.; McDougall, R. L.; McLay, A. D.; Middlebro', T.; Oppenheimer, E. M.; Paltiel, K. Z.; Rowat, D. C.; Swallow, E. M. and Tassie, J. S., Ottawa

Association acadienne d'éducation du Nouveau-Brunswick, Caraquet, New Brunswick

Association acadienne d'éducation de la Nouvelle-Écosse, Church Point, Nova Scotia

Association des anciens élèves du collège de Saint-Boniface, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba

Association of Canadian Clubs, Ottawa

Association canadienne des bibliothécaires de langue française, Quebec

Association canadienne des éducateurs de langue française, Quebec

Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta, Edmonton

Association canadienne-française d'éducation d'Ontario, Ottawa

Association canadienne de la radio et de la télévision de langue française, Jonquière, Quebec

Association des commissaires d'école catholiques de langue française du Canada, Ottawa

Association culturelle canadienne-française de Timmins, Timmins, Ontario

Association culturelle franco-canadienne de la Saskatchewan et Association des commissaires d'école franco-canadiens, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Association des diplômés d'université, Ottawa

Association des éditeurs canadiens, Montreal

Association des éducateurs canadiens d'origine italienne, Montreal

Association d'éducation des Canadiens-français du Manitoba, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba

- Association des enseignants franco-ontariens, Ottawa
- Association des étudiants de langue française du Nord de l'Ontario, Sudbury
- Association des femmes de carrière de Granby, Granby, Quebec
- Association des femmes diplômées des universités, Montreal
- Association des fonctionnaires fédéraux d'expression française, Ottawa
- Association des inspecteurs franco-ontariens et des professeurs d'écoles normales, Ottawa
- Association des instituteurs acadiens, Campbellton, New Brunswick
- Association des instituteurs de langue française du Manitoba, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba
- Association des médecins de langue française du Canada, Montreal
- Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec, Montreal
- Association des professeurs de français des universités canadiennes, Winnipeg
- Association des professeurs universitaires, Moncton, New Brunswick
- Association des professeurs de l'Université de Montréal, Montreal
- Association professionnelle des industriels, Montreal
- Association professionnelle des professeurs laïques de l'enseignement classique de la province de Québec incorporée, Montreal
- Association of United Ukrainian Canadians: Manitoba Section, Winnipeg
- Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, Toronto
- Association des universitaires du collège de Saint-Boniface, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba
- Babion, R. G., Fort William, Ontario
- Barbeau, Raymond, Montreal
- Bargetto, Fred, Toronto
- Barker, Charles, Montreal
- Barton, Mrs. Winnifred G., Ottawa
- Bastedo, Frank and Gordon, P. H., Victoria
- Bates, Gordon, Toronto
- Beauchamp, René, Ottawa
- Bélanger, André, Quebec
- Bélanger, J. H., Ottawa
- Bicultural Association of Montreal, Beaconsfield, Quebec
- Biggar, J. H., Toronto
- Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Quebec
- Board of Education for the City of Welland, Welland, Ontario
- Boehm, Arnold H., Montreal
- Boissonnault, Bertrand, Montreal
- Booth, Joyce, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
- Bowen, J. A. C., Toronto
- British Columbia Parent-Teacher Federation, Vancouver
- Bronner, F. J. L., Victoria
- Buller, Bernard H., Windsor, Ontario
- Byelorussian Canadian Alliance, London
- Calgary Public School Board, Calgary
- Cameron, Alan; Grassick, Patrick; Litchinsky, David and Young, Raymond, Calgary
- Canada Council, Ottawa
- Canada Ethnic Press Federation, Winnipeg
- Canada Junior Chamber of Commerce, Ottawa
- Canada Press Club, Winnipeg
- Canadian Alliance, Quebec
- Canadian Association for Adult Education, Toronto
- Canadian Association of Comparative Law, Edmonton
- Canadian Association of Slavists, Edmonton
- Canadian Authors' Association, Wolfville, Nova Scotia
- Canadian Book Publishers' Council, Toronto
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Ottawa
- Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Montreal
- Canadian Conference of the Arts, Toronto
- Canadian Council of National Groups, Toronto
- Canadian Credit Institute, Toronto
- Canadian Credit Men's Association Limited, Toronto
- Canadian Federation of University Women, St. Catharines, Ontario
- Canadian Hungarian Federation, Montreal

- ✓ Canadian Industrial Editors' Association, Ottawa
- ✓ Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants, Toronto
- ✓ Canadian Institute of Cultural Research, Toronto
- ✓ Canadian-Italian Business and Professional Men's Association, Montreal
- ✓ Canadian Labour Congress, Ottawa
- Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, Toronto
- ✓ Canadian Library Association, Ottawa
- ✓ Canadian Manufacturers' Association, Toronto
- Canadian Mennonite Association, Altona, Manitoba
- ✓ Canadian Museums Association, Toronto
- ✓ Canadian National Institute for the Blind, Toronto
- ✓ Canadian Nurses' Association, Ottawa
- Canadian Polish Congress Incorporated, Toronto
- ✓ Canadian Press, Toronto
- Canadian Protestant League: Edmonton Branch, Edmonton
- ✓ Canadian Protestant League: Ontario Region, London
- ✓ Canadian Public Relations Society Incorporated, Downsview, Ontario
- ✓ Canadian Slovak League, Hamilton
- ✓ Canadian Society of Microbiologists, Montreal
- ✓ Canadian Tourist Association, Toronto
- ✓ Canadian Union of Students, Ottawa
- ✓ Canadian University Press, Ottawa
- ✓ Canadian Veterinary Medical Association, Ottawa
- ✓ Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa
- Canadian Wire Service Guild of the CBC News Service Newsrooms in Montreal and Ottawa, Montreal
- Canadian Women's Press Club, Montreal
- Canadian Yearly Meeting of Religious Society of Friends, Toronto
- ✓ Carley, A. J.; Ellis, J. G.; Gibson, F. W.; Graham, John; Jones, R. E.; Knox, F. A.; Lederman, W. R.; Leigh-Wood, K. J.; Leith, J. A.; Lower, A. R. M.; O'Brien, R. A.; Ryan, H. R. S.; Sawyer, W. R.; Schurman, D. M.; Shortliffe, Glen; Stanley, G. F. G.; Watts, R. L. and Wise, S. F., Kingston, Ontario
- Catholic Women's League of Canada, Ottawa
- Caughnawaga Defence Committee, Caughnawaga, Quebec
- Cercle Molière, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba
- Chambre de commerce de Chicoutimi, Chicoutimi, Quebec
- ✓ Chambre de commerce de Magog incorporée, Magog, Quebec
- Chambre de commerce Richelieu-Saint-Mathias, Richelieu, Quebec
- Chambre des notaires de la province de Québec, Montreal
- Chataway, H. D., Lindsay, Ontario
- Chevaliers de Champlain, Sorel, Quebec
- Chouinard, Jean-Yves, Quebec
- Citizens Committee on Children, Ottawa
- Citizenship Council of Manitoba, Winnipeg
- Civil Service Association of Canada, Ottawa
- Civil Service Federation of Canada, Ottawa
- Clan Routier Jean Nicolet, Nicolet, Quebec
- Classen, H. George, Ottawa
- Claveau, Jean-Charles, Chicoutimi, Quebec
- Club des anciens du collège militaire royal de Saint-Jean, Saint-Léonard, Quebec
- Club canadien-français d'Oshawa, Oshawa, Ontario
- Club Richelieu de Montréal and the Rotary Club of Montreal, Montreal
- Collège de Bathurst, Bathurst, New Brunswick
- Collin, Marcel, Ottawa
- Comité Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, Ville de Laval, Quebec
- Commercial Travellers' Association of Canada, Toronto
- Committee for Continuing Studies in Canada of H. R. H. The Duke of Edinburgh's Commonwealth Study Conferences 1956-1962, Toronto
- Communist Party of Canada, Toronto
- Community Arts Council, Vancouver
- Conrod, G. R., Westmount, Quebec
- Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, Quebec
- Conseil de Ville de LeMoyne, Ville de LeMoyne, Quebec
- Co-operative Union of Canada, Ottawa
- Cope, B. L., Roberts Creek, British Columbia

- Corporation des agronomes de la province de Québec, Montreal
- Corporation des instituteurs et institutrices catholiques du Québec, Quebec
- Corporation of Professional Social Workers of the Province of Quebec, Montreal
- Creighton, Mrs. Robert, Nanaimo, British Columbia
- Curatorium of Ukrainian Catholic Schools, Winnipeg
- Czechoslovak National Association of Canada, Toronto
- Dalhousie University: Faculty of Graduate Studies, Halifax
- Demorest, Marielle, Richmond, British Columbia
- Dickason, Olive, Toronto
- Dockrell, W. B., Lupul, M. R. and Moore, E. R., Edmonton
- Dominion Drama Festival, Ottawa
- Dreyfus, M. A., Ottawa
- Edam and District Board of Trade, Edam, Saskatchewan
- Educational Reference Book Publishers' Association, Toronto
- Engineering Institute of Canada, Montreal
- English, Mrs. P. M., Morin Heights, Quebec
- Esperanto Services, Ottawa
- Esthonian Central Council in Canada: Esthonian Federation in Canada, Toronto
- Étudiants universitaires du collège Saint-Jean, Edmonton
- Fédération des amicales lasalliennes du Canada, Montreal
- Federation of Canadian Advertising and Sales Clubs, Montreal
- Fédération canadienne-française de la Colombie-Britannique, Maillardville, British Columbia
- Fédération canadienne-française de l'Ouest, Edmonton
- Fédération des collèges classiques, Montreal
- Fédération des jeunes chambres du Canada français, Montreal
- Federation of Quebec Protestant Colonization and Settlement Societies, Montreal
- Fédération des sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste de l'Ontario, Ottawa
- Findlay, Mr. and Mrs. Bruce, Don Mills, Ontario
- Flaherty, John F., Ottawa
- Fortin, Marcel, Montreal
- French Canada Week, Canadian Union of Students, University of Alberta, Edmonton
- Friends of the Children's Public Library in Sudbury, Sudbury.
- Gavrel, Guy, Ottawa
- Gibson, Alice G., Ottawa
- Glengarry Historical Society, Martintown, Ontario
- Griffith, E. W., Montreal
- Groupe français et ukrainien de Bruno, Humboldt et Saint-Brieux, Bruno, Saskatchewan
- Hambley, G. H., Fort Frances, Ontario
- Hamilton Junior Chamber of Commerce, Hamilton
- Hamilton, W. H., Winnipeg
- Hayden, Herbert W., Montreal
- Hellenic Canadian Society of University Graduates, Montreal
- Henry, A. S. and Francis, C., Victoria
- Hisey, J. D., Richmond Hill, Ontario
- Hochelaga Youth Group, LaSalle, Quebec
- Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation of Manitoba Incorporated, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba
- Horn, Kahn-Tineta, Caughnawaga, Quebec
- Howarth, Jean, Toronto
- Hrycuk, A., Cobourg, Ontario
- Humanities Research Council of Canada, Ottawa
- Icelandic Canadian Club, Winnipeg
- Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, Toronto
- Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, Toronto
- Institut canadien-français d'Ottawa, Ottawa
- Institute of Citizenship, Toronto
- Inter-Community Visits, Toronto
- International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Toronto

- ✓ Jackson, G. D., Toronto
- ✓ Jeune chambre Ottawa-Eastview, Ottawa
- ✓ Jeune chambre de Sept-Îles, Sept-Îles, Quebec
- ✓ Jewish Labour Committee of Canada, Montreal
- ✓ Joy, R. J., Ottawa
- ✓ Junior Bar Association of Montreal, Montreal
- ✓ Junior League of Montreal Incorporated, Montreal
- ✓ Kear, A. R., Ottawa
- ✓ Kehler, William, Rosenort, Manitoba
- ✓ Keirstead, B. S., Toronto
- ✓ Kelly, M. G., Chicago, Illinois
- ✓ Kinsey, H. I., Willowdale, Ontario
- ✓ Knight, Mr. and Mrs. H., Calgary
- ✓ Krueger, Leonard, Thornhill, Manitoba
- ✓ Laurentian University, Sudbury
- ✓ Lavoie, Roger, Sudbury
- ✓ Leblanc, Hervé T., Moncton, New Brunswick
- ✓ London Public Library and Art Museum, London
- ✓ Lower, Arthur R. M., Collins Bay, Ontario
- ✓ Maclean-Hunter Publishing Company Limited, Toronto
- ✓ Mandryka, M. I., Winnipeg
- ✓ Manitoba Mennonite Trustee Association and Manitoba Mennonite Educational Committee, Winkler, Manitoba
- ✓ Martel, Maurice, Ancienne Lorette, Quebec
- ✓ Martineau, L., Montreal
- ✓ McCalla, Enid F., Edmonton
- ✓ McDonald, John H., Ottawa
- ✓ McGill University, Montreal
- ✓ McGill University: Alumnae Society, Montreal
- ✓ McKinnon, Harold N., Glenboro, Manitoba
- ✓ McWhinney, Edward, Montreal
- ✓ Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's
- ✓ Mennonite German Language Society, Vancouver
- ✓ Mennonite Society for the Promotion of the German Language in Canada, Winnipeg
- ✓ Michalski, A. S., Montreal
- ✓ Monahan, H. S., Arvida, Quebec
- ✓ Mongenais, Mr. and Mrs. Jean, Tecumseh, Ontario
- ✓ Montreal Board of Trade, Montreal
- ✓ Montreal Catholic School Commission, Montreal
- ✓ Montreal Council of Women, Montreal
- ✓ *Montreal Star*, Montreal
- ✓ Moreau, Urbain, Trois-Rivières, Quebec
- ✓ Morton, Desmond, Toronto
- ✓ Morton, William L., Winnipeg
- ✓ Mutual Co-operation League, Toronto
- ✓ Myres, M. T., Calgary
- ✓ National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges, Ottawa
- ✓ National Farmers' Union, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
- ✓ National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, Toronto
- ✓ National Theatre School of Canada, Montreal
- ✓ Nelles, J. Gordon, Como, Quebec
- ✓ Netherlands Canada Cultural Council, Winnipeg
- ✓ Neville, S. J., Ottawa
- ✓ New Brunswick Federation of Home and School Associations Limited, Cocagne, New Brunswick
- ✓ New Democratic Party of Ontario, Toronto
- ✓ Newman Alumni of Manitoba, St. Charles, Manitoba
- ✓ Office catholique national des techniques de diffusion: Comité de culture cinématographique, Montreal
- ✓ Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers, Toronto
- ✓ Ontario School Trustees' and Ratepayers' Association Incorporated, Toronto
- ✓ Ottawa Newman Alumni Club, Ottawa
- ✓ Parent, Mr. and Mrs. Georges, Quebec
- ✓ Park, Marvin A., Canfield, Ontario
- ✓ Pilkey, N., London
- ✓ "Plast" Ukrainian Youth Association, Winnipeg
- ✓ Plunier, Yann, Baie-Comeau, Quebec

- Polish Alliance Friendly Society of Canada, Toronto
- Poznanski, Thaddée, Quebec
- Presbyterian Church in Canada: British Columbia Synod, Vancouver
- Presse étudiante nationale, Montreal
- Presunka, Peter, Ottawa
- Prince Rupert Chamber of Commerce, Prince Rupert, British Columbia
- Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada, Ottawa
- Promethean Society, Montreal
- Protestant Federation of Patriotic Women of Canada, Toronto
- Province of Quebec Chamber of Commerce, Montreal
- Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec, Montreal
- Provincial Grand Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan, Ladies Orange Benevolent Association of Saskatchewan and Orange Benevolent Society of Saskatchewan, Regina
- Quebec Association of Protestant School Administrators, Cowansville, Quebec
- Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards, Montreal
- Quebec Camping Association Incorporated, Montreal
- Quebec Federation of Protestant Home and School Associations, Montreal
- Quebec Library Association, Montreal
- Queen's University: Graduate Class in Comparative Federalism, Kingston, Ontario
- Quittner, J. K., Toronto
- Radford, Ruth, Milnes Landing, British Columbia
- Radio-Gravelbourg limitée et Radio-Prairies-Nord limitée, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
- Radio-Saint-Boniface limitée, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba
- Regina Chamber of Commerce Incorporated, Regina
- Renaud, André, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
- Roberts, H. K., Quebec
- Robinson, Brian, Montreal
- Rochon, Paul, Montreal
- Roland, Percy E., Montreal
- Ronaghan, Allen, Consort, Alberta
- Royal Commonwealth Society, Winnipeg
- Royal Society of Canada, Ottawa
- Rozinkin, William M., Nelson, British Columbia
- Russell, Deane H., Ottawa
- Ryerson Institute of Technology: History and Geography Department, Toronto
- St. Andrew's College: University of Manitoba, Winnipeg
- St. Dunstan's University, Charlottetown
- St. Francis Xavier University: The Faculty, Antigonish, Nova Scotia
- St. Jean, Earl K., Lakefield, Ontario
- St. John's Institute, Edmonton
- Sales and Marketing Executives Club of Toronto, Toronto
- Sarnia Junior Chamber of Commerce, Sarnia, Ontario
- Saskatchewan Federation of Home and School Incorporated, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
- Scandinavian Centre Co-operative Association Limited, Edmonton
- Scouts catholiques du Canada, Montreal
- Secondary Schools of London District: The Teachers of French, London
- Semczuk, S., Winnipeg
- Senior Protestant School Administrators of the Province of Quebec, Saint-Lambert, Quebec
- Sherbrooke Chamber of Commerce, Sherbrooke, Quebec
- Shevchenko Scientific Society, Toronto
- Sir George Williams Association of University Teachers, Montreal
- Sir George Williams University, Montreal
- Smith, Leigh, Ottawa
- Social Science Research Council of Canada, Ottawa
- Social Study Club of Edmonton, Edmonton
- Société l'Assomption, Moncton, New Brunswick
- Société d'étude et de conférences, Montreal

- ✓ Société nationale des Acadiens, Moncton, New Brunswick
- Société nationale populaire du Québec, Montreal
- ✓ Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, Montreal
- ✓ Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste: section Saint-Pierre-Apôtre de Longueuil, Longueuil, Quebec
- ✓ Société Saint-Pierre du diocèse d'Antigonish, Antigonish, Nova Scotia
- Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, Charlottetown
- Sociétés canadiennes-françaises de la région métropolitaine de Windsor, Windsor
- ✓ Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants of Canada, Hamilton
- ✓ Southwood, Harold T., Edmonton
- ✓ Student Christian Movement of Canada, Toronto
- Student Christian Movement in the University of Manitoba and in United College, Winnipeg
- ✓ Sudbury and District Ministerial Association, Sudbury
- ✓ Swystun, Wasyl, Winnipeg
- ✓ Taillefer, M. J. Réjean, Montreal
- Taylor, George W., Toronto
- Taylor, R. L., Winnipeg
- ✓ Tieman, Janet K., Thessalon, Ontario
- ✓ Toronto French School Incorporated, Toronto
- ✓ Towle, G. V., Vancouver
- Trail Chamber of Commerce, Trail, British Columbia
- ✓ Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians Incorporated, Hamilton
- Turi, Giuseppe, Montreal
- ✓ Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Edmonton Branch, Edmonton
- Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Headquarters, Winnipeg
- Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Lakehead Branch, Fort William, Ontario
- ✓ Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Montreal Branch, Montreal
- Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Vancouver Branch, Vancouver
- Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Winnipeg Branch, Winnipeg
- Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Women's Council, Winnipeg
- Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Organization, Winnipeg
- Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union, Toronto
- Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association, Montreal
- Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg, Yorkton, Saskatchewan
- Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Canada, Edmonton
- Ukrainian Catholic Teachers: Markian Shashkevich Society, Winnipeg
- Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada, Winnipeg
- Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg
- Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada, Winnipeg
- Ukrainian National Federation of Canada Incorporated, Toronto
- Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada, Toronto
- Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club, Regina
- Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club, Winnipeg
- Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association: Alberta Provincial Executive, Edmonton
- Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, Toronto
- Ukrainian Teachers' Association of Canada, Toronto
- Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Hamilton
- Union des pasteurs canadiens-français, Montreal
- Union des sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Eastview, Eastview, Ontario
- Unitarian Churches of Montreal and Pointe-Claire, Montreal
- United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces, Moncton, New Brunswick
- United Church of Canada, Ottawa

- United Church of Canada: Manitoba Conference and Wininpeg Presbytery, Winnipeg
- United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, Toronto
- United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union, Vancouver
- Université de Montréal, Montreal
- University of Alberta: General Faculty Council, Edmonton
- University of Manitoba: The Senate, Winnipeg
- University of Manitoba Students' Union, Winnipeg
- ✓University of Ottawa, Ottawa
- University of Toronto, Toronto
- University of Toronto: Department of French, Toronto
- University of Toronto Press, Toronto
- University of Toronto: Students' Law Society, Faculty of Law, Toronto
- University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario
- University Women's Club of Calgary, Calgary
- University Women's Club of Edmonton, Edmonton
- Van't Hoff, Robert, Calgary
- Voice of Canada League, Ottawa
- Voice of Women, Toronto
- Warren, Fred S., Edmonton
- Wesley, George J., Montreal
- Williams, T. J. T., Toronto
- Wilson, F. W., Edmonton
- Woman's World: The Journal of the Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada*, Winnipeg
- Woodsworth, J. A., Vancouver
- Young Women's Christian Association of Canada, Toronto
- Yukon Federation of Home and School Associations, Whitehorse, Yukon Territory

A Royal Commission must decide for itself how much it will rely on a research programme as a basis for its report. The decision will be based, usually, on the nature of the Commission's terms of reference and the kind of information that it believes is required. Sometimes the subject of study is narrowly defined and evidence gathered from public or private testimony is all that is needed. Under these circumstances, research is unnecessary. Commission legal counsel and/or technical consultants take the place of a research staff. More and more frequently, however, Canadian governments have established Royal Commissions to explore a broadly defined social problem—Taxation, Health, Education, Transportation are recent examples—about which insufficient information is available to permit wise public policies to be defined. When a Commission is given this kind of task, some research activity is inescapable. But the extent of research may still be modest: information may be readily accessible in appropriate classifications; a stock of data, gathered by government, industry, or the universi-

ties, may simply have to be sifted and weighed.

The Preface of the Report makes it clear that this Commission did not find itself in such a fortunate position. From the outset, the Commissioners realized that an extensive research programme was required: their terms of reference were exceedingly broad; few prior studies had been made using language and culture as the main categories of analysis; there was a clear need for factual information in a readily accessible form to nourish future public discussions of the problems of language and culture.

Once the decision was made to embark on a considerable research programme, the Commission devoted itself to specifying the kinds of studies it wished to make. By January 1964, when the Director of Research and Professor Léon Dion of Laval University, the Special Consultant on Research, were appointed, a list of topics had been prepared that provided the basis for more detailed planning. By the spring of 1964, the Commission was approving a series of projects, most of which were

begun during the summer months. As the research staff expanded, close liaison was maintained between Commissioners and research workers. Projects were almost imperceptibly modified as field work progressed, and the Commissioners had to be certain that they remained consistent with their mandate. The insights obtained through regional meetings, public hearings, and private meetings had to be blended with the views on research methods and on fruitful lines of inquiry coming from the social scientists conducting the research. Much of the responsibility for day-to-day communications inevitably lay with the Co-Chairmen, the Co-Secretaries, and the Director of Research and the Special Consultant, but regular reports were made to the Commission as a whole and individual Commissioners closely followed research projects involving their special fields of interest. When research reports were finally submitted, much closer relations between Commissioners and the research staff were established through study groups that permitted a thorough discussion and assessment of research findings.

The research of the Commission was undertaken through contracts and through the work of Commission research staff. We realized from the outset that it would be impossible to recruit as staff a sufficient number of senior scholars to accomplish all that had been planned. Many projects, however, could be undertaken by university professors available full-time during the summer months and part-time during the academic year under a contractual agreement. Nearly two-thirds of the research reports were prepared under such arrangements made with professors or other senior staff from 24 Canadian, five

American and six other universities. Other topics, however, were better handled by a central research staff and this applied especially to those that were focussed on the federal Public Service and the National Capital Region. The final research programme constituted more than 150 contracts and internal research projects. They were grouped into research divisions, each directed by a research supervisor who was wherever possible a member of the full-time Ottawa staff. At the busiest period, there were 12 such divisions.

The research supervisors, whose names appear on page 200, played a crucial role. Individually, they were responsible for setting and maintaining high standards for the projects in their divisions. Through seminars and supervisors' meetings they shared collectively in the tasks of coordinating the work of the research department and of assessing and criticizing both methods and findings.

Links between the academic community and the Commission's research programme were close. At the initial planning stages in the spring of 1964, a consultative committee of 13 Canadian scholars reviewed and criticized the preliminary list of projects, and many members of this committee later took on research responsibilities themselves or acted as individual consultants. As work progressed the Commission was able to draw upon a range of knowledge and experience far wider than that represented by the Commission staff itself. The Special Consultant on Research, Léon Dion, shared fully with the Director of Research the tasks of planning and directing the programme. Other contacts were less regular, but these consultations and exchanges strengthened many projects and gave the research department the

assurance that its methods and its formulations of problems corresponded to the latest and best thinking of the academic community.

The research studies prepared for the Commission are listed on pages 201 to 212, according to the part of the Report to which they related most closely. These groupings do not correspond exactly with the research divisions, which were the working units for the Commission's research staff, for the latter were operational rather than logical clusters. Included in the studies are a number of essays that were not strictly research projects.

A list of projects gives little idea of the kinds of problems faced in designing and executing the research programme, and of the methods used; they merit, perhaps, a brief commentary. It should be stressed that the order in which the Books of the Report are discussed will not necessarily be the order of publication.

A. The Official Languages

The first Book of the Commission's Report is divided into two parts. Part I constitutes a description and assessment of a wide range of facts regarding Canada's two principal languages and the people who speak them, and it is to this section of the Book that research made its chief contribution. Because the Book is concerned with the country as a whole, the demographic structure of the Canadian population and the recognition given to the French and English languages in our legal and constitutional system were the major problems. The demographic study prepared by members of the Demography Department of the Université de Mont-

réal and the mapping project undertaken by the McGill Geography Department both relied almost exclusively on data from the Census of Canada. The biggest obstacle they encountered was the lack of a census question on the principal language used by the respondents; the Commission has recommended that a new question be added to the census.

Discovering the past and present structure of language legislation governing Canadians proved to be a massive undertaking, because the required references were very scattered and there were few previous studies in the field. The legal scholar who worked on these problems had been asked in addition to describe how practice amplified or narrowed the provisions of law that he discovered. Only a beginning could be made on this problem, through questionnaires sent to officials of selected courts and municipalities and through interviews. The need for more, and more readily available, information will be even greater in the future as a consequence of the Commission's recommendations regarding bilingual districts.

The experience of other countries with two or more major languages was bound to be instructive. The initial problems were which countries to select and how to gather the required information about them. Rather than attempting to compile a little information about almost every country where more than one language has official status, we decided to study quite intensively a small number of states. The danger of singling out legal and institutional provisions without understanding their social and political context could thus be reduced. Belgium, Switzerland, South Africa, and Finland were finally selected, but a supplementary report on

the experience of newer states was prepared under contract to a Canadian specialist. For three of the four countries chosen, residents of these states, with personal experience of the social background lying behind language law and practice, were asked to undertake studies. In the case of Finland, the data book prepared by a Commission staff member was read and criticized by several Finnish scholars.

Given information on the linguistic and cultural structure of Canada's population, on its system of language law and (less completely) custom, and on the comparable situation in other countries, the Commission had available much of the data for Book I. The Commissioners drew on several other studies for information on the attitudes and behaviour of Canadians with relation to language questions.

Two types of study were useful. First were those that attempted to measure how much Francophones outside Quebec were being drawn into an English-language ambit. Studies on regions of New Brunswick and Manitoba and on the city of Toronto considered such areas as television viewing, magazine and newspaper reading, association membership, and school attendance, to see to what extent a will to remain Francophone persisted. To round out this picture, similar information was culled from other studies on the mass media and on education.

A second kind of research project, the national survey, was also important. The Commission contracted for two surveys using a national probability sample—one for adults and one for youth. Information so obtained has been helpful for all Books of the Report. Among other things, the results measured the use of French, English, and other languages in various social

settings, and the extent to which there was a desire to use them more. The surveys provided distributions on attitudes towards an extended public recognition of French in the federal Public Service and in education. Together they permitted some assessment of the similarities and differences between the feelings of youth and adults.

B. The Work World: Government and Private Enterprise

This Book will be the longest of the Report, and it is based on the greatest volume of research. The research was organized in three main areas: the comparative social and economic status of Canadians of various ethnic origin; the federal Public Service including the Armed Forces; and the private sector of the work world, especially in Quebec.

It was common knowledge that Francophones appeared infrequently in lists of the leading figures of the business world, and that in many cities the French-speaking residential areas were characterized by low incomes. But almost nothing was known in detail about the relationships between cultural factors like ethnic origin, mother tongue, and religion on the one hand, and economic and social factors like income, education, and occupation on the other. Data on all these variables were gathered as part of the Census of Canada, but the Dominion Bureau of Statistics rarely published tables that related the cultural data to the economic. We therefore asked the Bureau to produce the computer tapes we needed. This in itself was a considerable task, for which we thank the Bureau.

With the new information at hand, a project analyzing the income and occupa-

tions of various ethnic groups could begin; but guidelines for interpretation were few and remote from Canadian experience. Economists concerned with the plight of the Negro in the United States had begun to look at ethnicity as a factor explaining income and occupation levels, and something could be drawn from this experience. But the concepts developed to study a minority seeking total integration and an end to discrimination had only a limited value when applied to the relations between two linguistic communities, each concerned with maintaining its particularity but on a basis of equality.

Even the small number of parallel American studies were exceptions, however, for the main stream of economic analysis ignored factors of language and culture in dealing with the determination of incomes and occupations. It was assumed that persons with the same levels of skill, education, experience, and so on, were interchangeable. The Commission study focusing on these problems is, therefore, a pioneer venture. New data have been presented and described; new explanatory theories are suggested.

A companion piece to the study on incomes is the investigation of the control of Quebec business firms. Together these research reports help to measure the differences in economic participation among the ethnic groups of Canada. Another study deals with the degree of concentration of Francophones in low-income regions and examines the relative geographic mobility of Canadians of various origins. The resulting picture is a complex one, and the Commission studies only begin to analyze its implications.

Studies of the overall structure of Canadian incomes and occupations, seen

in ethnic and linguistic terms, served as a backdrop for the Commission's more intensive examination of a single, but large, segment of the work world—the federal Public Service. To some extent, the census data used for the whole Canadian scene could help determine the pattern of incomes and occupations for public servants, and these figures were, in fact, analyzed. But they left important gaps—particularly the distribution of public servants by departments or Crown corporations—which could not be filled by any data from the personnel records of the Public Service itself. To complete the picture, we launched a sample survey of the whole Public Service, designed to gather information on actual language use and on attitudes to bilingualism and biculturalism.

Other studies focussed on important functions performed by the Public Service—the recruitment of personnel (Were comparable efforts made to recruit Anglophones and Francophones? Were differences in language and culture taken into account in the way the candidates were assessed?); translation; the language training programme; and, perhaps most important, the way careers developed for members of each language group.

The study on careers presented particular problems of design, of information-gathering, and of interpretation. Once again, the research team faced an almost untouched field. Many inquiries into the way members of an organization related one to another (formal and informal structures) and to the world outside (clients and community) had been made by specialists in administration and industrial sociology. There were also studies of the career chances of minorities in institutions, mostly concentrating on the phenomenon of

discrimination. But there were no studies on the relationships between two language groups, examining their relative opportunities and their modes of participation in an institutional framework. Belgium, for example, had regulated minutely the use of language and distribution of posts between persons of different mother tongues, but no studies of the actual process of work interaction had preceded or followed the legislation. The construction of an interview schedule and the analysis of results therefore had to be worked out in terms of a project design which owed little to previous work.

A research technique little used in Canada was applied to the problems of assessing first, the degree of openness to change within the Public Service, and second, the kinds of adaptation already being considered by those concerned with giving fuller recognition to the French language and culture. Essentially, the technique—labelled (or mislabelled) “action research”—consisted of initiating, and acting as participant-observers in, a series of work sessions in selected government agencies. Programmes for fostering more effective participation of Francophones were developed during these sessions. Cooperation in this project, as in others, was excellent and a mine of information on the practicability of various policy alternatives could thus be exploited. As a method, action research proved challenging; those who use it must continually tread the narrow line dividing the observer from the fully committed, responsible participant.

It would have been useful to discover how the relative participation of English-speaking and French-speaking public servants, and the use of the two languages, had evolved over time. Historical studies were rare and never focussed on the Com-

mission's interests, but the research effort required for a thorough check into the past was too great to be undertaken. We had to content ourselves with a brief glance at changes in legislation and regulations and at some of the special efforts made by political figures to augment the French presence in the Public Service. A somewhat more ambitious attempt could be made to examine the historical evolution of the two linguistic groups in the Armed Forces, for records and secondary sources were more readily available. But much remains to be described and explained.

The Armed Forces are different enough from the rest of the Public Service to require rather special treatment, but this was one of the rare instances where prior work had been done. The doctoral thesis of Professor Jacques Brazeau provided a platform from which further studies could be launched into questions of language use and the deployment of persons from French- and English-language backgrounds.

The research on the Public Service mentioned thus far took the federal Public Service as a whole—or a massive part of it, like the Canadian Armed Forces—as its field. Studies were primarily concerned with its overall structure and such relevant processes as recruiting and career development. But each department of government and each Crown corporation has its special functions and creates an institutional framework, indeed an administrative style, of its own. Projects on individual departments and corporations were therefore undertaken to supplement the more general studies, especially when a very distinctive departmental character could be identified—for example, the Departments of External Affairs and

Finance, or the CBC, or the Treasury Board. Usually this research involved extensive interviewing as well as a study of basic documents defining the agency and its duties.

It is perhaps an indication of the shifting viewpoint of political science, however, as well as of the concerns of the Commission, that most of the studies on departments were as concerned with the attitudes of public servants, and their behaviour as members of a social sub-system, as with the formal arrangement of positions and their incumbents. Much the same can be said of the research projects which, to provide comparative material that was Canadian, examined the administrative arrangements of four cities (Moncton, Montreal, Ottawa, and Winnipeg) and three provinces (New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec). Whenever possible, information on the behaviour of public servants in their work situations and their attitudes to questions of language and culture accompanied the descriptions of posts which were held and the official use which was made of English and French. In only one case, however, were data on personal attitudes and behaviour patterns, inside and outside the service, the exclusive subject of a study: a survey of the Armed Forces attempted to assess the degree to which it was really possible to live as a Francophone in the various environments of military life. It was a venture into a hitherto unexplored aspect of military studies.

Two large studies and four smaller ones laid the foundations for that part of a subsequent Book which deals with the private sector of the work world. Inevitably, our interest was drawn to the large corporations which provide such a high percentage of industrial employment and exercise

such a great influence on contemporary society. A team from the *École des hautes études commerciales* and McGill's Graduate School of Business undertook a multifaceted project. An elaborate questionnaire explored the roles performed by Francophones and Anglophones in a sample of large firms. Supplemented by interviews and the results of a simplified questionnaire for smaller firms, the data thus obtained provided the Commission not only with rich materials for analyzing participation and language use in private business, but also a basis for comparison with the public sector. Although firms located outside Quebec were included in the sample, Quebec—and within that province, Montreal—received special attention. Here the industrial relationship between Francophones and Anglophones reveals itself in all its complexity,¹ and two other studies, on the engineering profession of Quebec and the construction industry in Montreal, helped to deepen understanding of the patterns of interaction.

The second extensive project brought the Commission into the realm of industrial psychology. Do Francophones and Anglophones have the same outlook on business life? Particularly, do they believe that the same personal qualities and style are appropriate for industrial leadership? A battery of questionnaires, distributed to supervising personnel in seven large firms and, in part, to 794 small firms, sought answers to these and related questions. When the results were analyzed, the pattern which emerged left little doubt that,

¹ Indeed, so many Commission projects touched on one aspect or another of life in Montreal that the possibility of combining them in an integrated study of cultural relations in this metropolis is a most promising one. This synthesis must await other auspices than those of the Commission, however.

in spite of the difficulty of controlling factors other than language and culture, the differences in viewpoint between the two language groups were significant. The possibilities for more detailed probing along these lines are therefore intriguing.

Quebec is in rapid change. Were the attitudinal data obtained from questioning those already at work in business and the Public Service likely to hold true for the future? The question was a difficult one, but some hints might come from studies focussed on youth. This age group had already been studied in one of the Commission's national surveys, but because *career* aspirations and expectations seemed so important, two additional projects were undertaken.

C. Education

Because education falls under provincial jurisdiction, there are ten school systems in Canada. But even that statement greatly underestimates the complexities faced by research in education. Quebec, until the passage of Bill 60 in 1964 at least, had two public systems—Protestant and Roman Catholic—and a network of private institutions; some schools are a federal responsibility; Ontario has separate schools, some English only, some “bilingual,” *almost* constituting a system; and so the complications grow. Our first task, therefore, was simply to sort out and describe the structure of schooling in Canada; that led to six small-scale studies and two essays, most of which were part-historical and part-contemporary in scope. Secondary sources—books, provincial Royal Commission reports, articles—were available for much of this work, and the texts of acts and

regulations were readily at hand. But practice frequently had evolved in ways the law gave one no reason to predict, and change was almost continuous during the life of the Commission.

When it was necessary to go beyond the description of the formal and informal organization of schooling, secondary sources began to dwindle. Research was concerned with two broad problems: the availability and adequacy of French-language instruction, and the state of second-language teaching in English and French. And once a measure of the *performance* of our schools was sought, the difficulties multiplied. Statistics permitting a comparison of second-language teaching standards from province to province, or a comparison of the performance of students educated in the English language with those educated in the French language, had rarely been compiled. Once again, the Commission was compelled to move into new territory.

The first concern of research was, here as elsewhere, a structural one. When did students begin learning the second official language in Canada? How intensively were they taught? What provisions were made for the training of second language teachers? What system of instruction was in use? Replies to these questions were sought in four studies undertaken by linguists and language teachers. Usually they involved visits to the provinces, and especially to teacher-training institutions, although one project required only a report on a computer analysis of materials from texts and teachers' manuals. Knowledge of the approach and methods used outside Canada was provided by the comparative studies of Belgium, Switzerland, South Africa, and Finland, by a general review of the litera-

ture, and by a special look at second-language teaching developments initiated in the United States under the National Defense Education Act.

But how well did students do under the various language-teaching régimes provided by Canadian schools? The Commission was able to take only a first, small step toward answering this question. The sample of students the research department used—those who were receiving French or English instruction at certain universities—left much to be desired, and great caution was needed in interpreting the results. It was possible, however, to be certain about one thing: there are few fields where the need for further research is more obvious and pressing, if maximum returns are to be obtained from the Canadian investment in second-language teaching.

All provinces except British Columbia provide for the use of French as a language of instruction in public schools, although it is largely restricted, outside Quebec, New Brunswick, and Ontario, to the early primary grades. The Commission was interested to know how Francophones and Anglophones fare in the differing educational environments, but it was rarely possible to go much beyond a comparison of the services available for the two official-language groups. Ontario was an exception, for there the Commission enjoyed the benefits of a research study far larger than any the Commission itself had undertaken. The Carnegie Study of Identification and Utilization of Talent in High School and College collected data on every Grade IX student in the province in 1959, and traced their secondary school careers in the years that followed. From this information it was possible to isolate

students from French-language homes and compare their school careers with those of other students in the province. Many factors which might explain success or failure in secondary school could be studied and we could assess the factors that might account for the poor record of Franco-Ontarians in secondary schools.

Further insights into the differences in standards and performance in English- and French-language schools came from a community study on Kapuskasing and its environs. The results bore out and complemented the findings of the larger survey, and added a special richness of detail.

The content of school texts, particularly in terms of the image of Canada they convey, has long preoccupied Canadians. To determine the extent and kind of existing divergences of view, we contracted for a comparative examination of French- and English-language Canadian history texts, and studied in lesser depth a selection of books used in teaching English and French as second languages. These projects, and attitudinal data from the national surveys and a study on the western provinces and New Brunswick, provided the basic research elements for the Book on education.

D. Other Cultural Groups

The Census of Canada lists so many different ethnic origins and mother tongues within the Canadian population that it was quite impossible for the Commission to study the contribution of each group separately. Instead, a few Commission studies were centred uniquely on Canadians of non-French, non-British origin; and a high percentage of all research projects gathered data on them which could later

be brought together in the Report. Two studies concentrated on a numerically important immigrant element, those of Italian background who, after World War II, had joined a group with longer residence here. Information tracing their adaptation in Montreal, with its French-language majority, and in Edmonton, where the majority speaks English, provided a useful contrast. Other studies concentrated on specific institutions: the ethnic press, the voluntary associations devoted to fostering cultural group interests, and the part-time schools designed to preserve cultural identity and pass on a national language. Research on voluntary associations and schools was dogged by the difficulty of identifying and tracing the whereabouts of these institutions and then by a low response rate to questionnaires, explained in part by the staffing problems most of these bodies encounter.

To supplement research, 11 essays were commissioned and prepared by knowledgeable representatives of some of the larger cultural groups. They were particularly useful in providing information on literary and artistic contributions.

The major effort, however, consisted in extracting data from a wide range of general studies and combining them with information from essays, from the special studies, and from secondary sources.

E. Arts and Letters

Because the Commission's terms of reference speak of the "role of public and private *organizations* . . . in promoting bilingualism, [and] better cultural relations. . . ."¹ much of the research on the

arts and letters concentrated on institutions, and especially on public ones within the sphere of the federal government: the National Gallery, the National Library, the National Museum, the Canada Council. As was the case for the Public Service as a whole, data was gathered on personnel and on language use, but in addition the policies of these bodies were reviewed in terms of their impact on French- and English-language groups in Canada. Comparative data on the Department of Cultural Affairs in Quebec, on the Ontario Arts Council, and on certain municipal cultural bodies were obtained as well.

The private sphere was too vast to be covered in its entirety. Instead, those aspects of arts and letters most closely related to language—theatre, cinema, publishing, and libraries—were singled out. Even in these areas, the subject of research could be little more than the identification and description of services provided for English- and French language publics, and the difficulties faced in their development.

F. The Mass Media

Most research for this Book was devoted to analyzing the behaviour of producers and consumers of the media. Content analysis of newspapers and television news broadcasts was undertaken to determine the image of Canada—and particularly of the dual character of Canada—projected by these media. The Commission also tried to discover whether there were differences in news priorities based on the language of the medium or the region of its origination. Problems of

¹ Italics ours.

method—sampling, classification, coding—were innumerable because the field is in its infancy in Canadian universities. It was an easier task to study the media consumption habits of readers, listeners, and viewers, because data were available from the CBC research organization.

Using an institutional focus, studies were made of the CBC and the Canadian Press. For the former, questions of participation, language use, and policy regarding Canada's two major cultures predominated. The study on the Canadian Press concentrated more on the attitudes of users than on the service they were receiving. Private broadcasting and newspaper publishing were also studied in an attempt to determine whether control rested in the hands of the same language group as that of consumers.

Another line of inquiry concerned those who write and edit the news in Canadian daily papers. Journalists from both language groups, accredited to the parliamentary Press Gallery and to the Ontario and Quebec galleries, were interviewed; written questionnaires were sent to editors. In this survey as in many others, those conducting the research often encountered puzzlement among their respondents. "What possible relevance can this question have to bilingualism and biculturalism?" was a common query; it highlights the problem of obtaining research findings on a multiform subject such as cultural differences. A question like "Which one post in journalism, ignoring salary, would you most like to fill?" may seem unrelated to questions of language and culture, but if most Anglophones prefer one post and most Francophones prefer another, a fact about cultural difference emerges.

G. The Federal Capital

Because of the divided jurisdiction in the capital area of Ottawa-Hull, much of the research in this field was devoted to ascertaining the linguistic policies and practices, and the powers of the governments involved. Thus federal, provincial, and municipal agencies, and their interplay one with another, were subjects of investigation. As well, many of the lines of research developed for a wider field were applied more specifically in the study of the capital: demographic data were prepared and mapped, the complex education systems described, the public services and court systems analyzed, the availability of media in both official languages determined, facilities for the arts and letters assessed, and a brief survey made to discover how far services could be obtained from commercial establishments in French and English. Finally, some consideration was given to the position of capital cities in other countries.

We encountered a serious obstacle in our study of the city of Ottawa, whose Board of Control was the only public body in Canada refusing to co-operate with the Commission's inquiry.

H. Governmental Institutions

At the summit of the federal government are Parliament, the cabinet, and the Supreme Court. Government policies are implemented and interpreted by the departments of the Public Service, complemented by a network of boards and commissions. Research on any of these bodies, but especially on the first three,

was bound to be difficult and delicate. For the House of Commons, where a study on the attitudes, role perceptions, and patterns of informal interaction between French-speaking and English-speaking MPs had been designed, the risks were particularly great. In fact, questions and objections in the House somewhat reduced the response rate to interviews and, through the delay they caused, required a slight curtailment in the scope of the study. The research was nevertheless completed and marks a new development in the study of Canadian government.

New research methods—at least for Canada—marked the study of the Supreme Court of Canada as well. A computer analysis of voting patterns in the court helped answer questions on the relevance of the linguistic and cultural background of judges.

Historical factors determining the composition and allocation of posts within selected Canadian cabinets since Confederation constituted the focus of a third study, prepared by several Canadian historians and political scientists. This was complemented by a statistical analysis of the representation of Anglophones and Francophones in the cabinet since 1867.

I. Voluntary Associations

In all modern countries, people band themselves together in a vast number of voluntary associations designed to promote the common purposes of their members. Political scientists and sociologists have studied, classified, and analyzed them in various ways. Political scientists have been particularly interested in volun-

tary associations as “interest groups,” and in one type of association above all—the political party. The relations between the two major language groups in Canada have been powerfully influenced by the kinds of associations formed and the degree of success they enjoy. Some of these associations have been composed exclusively of members of one language group, and they have been a factor in strengthening or directing the cultural life of this group. Others, including most political parties, have had members of both official-language groups; these associations have often been the scene of cultural tension in recent years, sometimes resulting in a scission. Four political parties—the Liberals, Progressive Conservatives, New Democrats, and Cr ditistes—were subjects of Commission studies which examined French-English relations within them. A fifth project looked at all active parties in three selected constituencies, in terms of their effectiveness in coping with problems of inter-cultural relations.

The most extensive inquiry in this field selected voluntary associations with no direct political interests. Exclusively English-language and exclusively French-language groups, as well as those which brought together both languages in their operations and memberships, were examined. Remarkably little is known about the factors influencing individuals to pursue common ends in association with members of another language group or in separate, parallel organizations. Little more is known about the tension or harmony-producing factors within an association common to two language groups. Our research makes a beginning in this field of study.

J. Other Studies

Because Quebec is the homeland of so many Francophones, relations between the two major language groups overlap inevitably with the more general problem of federal-provincial relations. To help us assess this aspect of our responsibilities, we undertook two historical studies, two projects involving the description and analysis of contemporary Canadian federalism, and a comparative study on the particularly delicate problem of economic planning in a federal state. In addition, three essays were asked of persons known to have given intensive thought to problems of constitutional change. Other essays were broader in their approach. From three scholars an assessment of "biculturalism" was requested, and the resulting contributions provided fascinating contrasts in outlook. Another essay analyzed the problems a French-speaking immigrant faced in integrating himself in Canada.

Immigration policy and practice, as they affect language and culture in Canada, have received little scholarly attention. Two Commission studies broached the almost unknown field of provincial immigration policies.

K. A General View of the Commission's Research

Even this very summary description of the studies undertaken by the Commission may permit the reader to identify some of the general characteristics of the research programme. First, it was a multi-disciplinary and to a large extent inter-disciplinary programme. Political science (including public

administration) and sociology predominated, but history, economics, linguistics, anthropology, social psychology, geography, law, mathematics, statistics, and literature all played a role. Several individual projects demanded combinations of historians and sociologists, legal scholars and political scientists, linguists and demographers, and every aspect of research was planned and discussed in a setting involving the insights of several disciplines.

Secondly, the research department brought together scholars from both official-language groups, as well as several whose mother tongue and educational background were neither English nor French. This cultural variety gave both enrichment and balance to the research programme. The questions asked, the methods used, and the interpretation of data could not possibly have been the same if a single cultural tradition had predominated. For those who took part in the research, the exchanges between scholars of differing language and culture were one of the most rewarding aspects of their work.

Thirdly, the programme made extensive use of the computer. Provision had been made very early for machine services, but original estimates of their use were much too low. In the end, over one-third of all studies, including all the large-scale projects, required computer work; many of these projects simply could not have been contemplated in the pre-electronic era. Even the humanists on the research staff fell under the spell of the "machine," and historians and literature specialists carrying armfuls of computer tables became a familiar sight.

Fourthly, the programme permitted a remarkable variety of research design and approach within the overall framework of the Commission's terms of reference. It was desirable to have the findings of one study directly comparable with those of another, but when this goal conflicted with some special purpose of a researcher, it was frequently sacrificed. There were two reasons for this: a belief that the best research was done when the scholar conducting it had the greatest possible freedom to pursue his own insights, and a reticence about committing all resources to a single set of definitions or categories when the particular field of research had been so little explored. The Commission could not be, and was not, a research council distributing grants. Rather, it contracted for those studies it required. But within this context its policy was to allow maximum free scope to the research scholar. Had any other stance been adopted, it is difficult to believe that the Commission research programme could have reached the standards of excellence it required.

The Preliminary Report stated: "The Commission's research findings will not be just an aid to writing a report and making recommendations. Rather, they constitute an integral part of the Commission's fulfillment of its mandate."¹ This emphasis on the need to make research findings readily available had been embodied in the contracts made by the Commission with research scholars, which permitted the author of a study to find his own publisher if the Commission itself did not publish his report. It is still not possible to specify the exact number of research reports to be published by the Queen's

Printer, but the final output will include a sizable proportion of studies. Unpublished reports will be available in the Public Archives.

Reports are sometimes not enough if further work, based on a Commission study, is to be undertaken. Frequently tables or computer cards or tapes will also be needed, and arrangements are being made to have these stored so they will be accessible to any user. Only a small number of confidential files and data records will be unavailable. Through these arrangements, the Commission hopes that further analysis, or follow-up studies, can be made.

The goal of the Commission's research programme was the provision of data for the Report of the Commission. But it is hoped that it may also have accomplished other ends.

First, the Commission's research programme brought together a group of scholars—as staff, contractors, and consultants—such as no single Canadian university could hope to assemble for the protracted study of interrelated research problems. It constituted for three years a continuous research seminar that may well have long-term effects in stimulating the development of the social sciences in this country. Moreover, the Commission provided training in research methods for 137 graduate students, for periods varying from a few months to several years, and for the less easily determined number of students who worked on contracts.

Secondly, our research programme may induce the coming generation of Canadian scholars to include among the useful models for analyzing Canada one which takes account of two linguistically-based communities. Further, it may generate an

¹ *Preliminary Report*, 144.

interest in the study of inter-cultural relations far beyond Canada, based not on a majority-minority concept nor on the play of assimilation and resistance forces but on the hypothesis of the permanent interaction of groups that retain their cultural particularity.

Finally, the research programme may, through the publication and dissemination of its reports, supplement the Report of the Commission itself as a source of information and understanding for students of Canadian affairs, and indeed for the Canadian public.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Michael Oliver". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Michael" and the last name "Oliver" clearly distinguishable.

MICHAEL OLIVER
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David Easton, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago. CONSULTANT

Jean Éthier-Blais, Professor of French, McGill University. RESEARCH ON ARTS AND LETTERS

Jean Fortier, Société de mathématiques appliquées. STATISTICS

Soucy Gagné, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. RESEARCH ON THE MASS MEDIA (from June 1965)

Oswald Hall, Professor of Sociology, University of Toronto. SOCIAL STUDIES

John Johnstone, National Opinion Research Centre, Chicago. CO-ORDINATOR OF SURVEY RESEARCH

William Mackey, Professor of Linguistics, Laval University. RESEARCH ON LINGUISTICS

Kenneth McRae, Professor of Political Science, Carleton University. RESEARCH ON THE FEDERAL CAPITAL, FOREIGN COMPARISONS, AND OTHER CULTURAL GROUPS

John Meisel, Professor of Political Science, Queen's University. RESEARCH ON VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Blair Neatby, Professor of History, Carleton University. RESEARCH ON EDUCATION

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Donald Smiley

Pierre-E. Trudeau

P. B. Waite

A. The Official Languages

De La Garde, R., UTILISATION DE LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE AU NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK. A study of the use of the French language in selected areas of New Brunswick, with an account of the factors favouring or hampering its development.

Department of Geography, McGill University, MONTREAL POPULATION—1961. Detailed maps of the distribution of Montreal population by census tracts indicating, among other things, language, ethnic origin, and income.

Henripin, J., ÉTUDE DÉMOGRAPHIQUE DES GROUPE ETHNIQUES ET LINGUISTIQUES AU CANADA. The demographic evolution of Canada's ethnic and language groups since Confederation; the present features of these groups.

Jolicœur, G., L'ACCULTURATION CHEZ LES CANADIENS FRANÇAIS DU MANITOBA. A sample study of the situations in which the French language is used by Franco-Manitobans.

Lieberson, S., LINGUISTIC AND ETHNIC SEGREGATION IN MONTREAL. An analysis, using data from the 1961 and earlier census reports, of the degree of residential segregation of French Canadians and

English Canadians, based on ethnic origin, mother tongue, and knowledge of official languages.

Sheppard, C.-A., THE LAW OF LANGUAGES IN CANADA. An historical and contemporary examination of the legal status of the French and English languages in legislation, in the courts (other than the Supreme Court of Canada), in boards and commissions and in selected municipalities, in international and federal-provincial agreements. The study covers both federal and provincial law and practice.

B. The Work World: Government and Private Enterprise

***Beattie, C., Désy, J., Longstaff, S.**, SENIOR FEDERAL CIVIL SERVANTS AT MID-CAREER: A STUDY OF ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS. An examination of the career patterns, social backgrounds, and reactions to bilingualism and biculturalism among English- and French-speaking persons at mid-career in the senior levels of the federal administration. A representative cross-section of departments—Finance, Agriculture, Public Works, National Revenue (Taxation Division), Secretary of State—is studied, and the work experiences of the two major language groups within them are described.

* Studies marked with an asterisk were not in their final form at the time of publication.

Bourassa, G., LES RELATIONS ETHNIQUES DANS LA VIE POLITIQUE MONTRÉALAISE. An analysis of Anglophone and Francophone participation in both the municipal council and administration of Montreal; ethnic voting patterns, attitudes to basic issues, language capacity, and language use.

Briant, P.C., ETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY ON THE ISLAND OF MONTREAL. The part played by various ethnic groups in the construction industry in Montreal: ethnic composition of firms, their concentration in certain sectors of the industry; areas of ethnic co-operation, competition, and segregation. Some 250 firms and 45 construction projects were included in the sample.

Bryan, N., ETHNIC PARTICIPATION AND LANGUAGE USE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF ONTARIO. A description of Francophone and Anglophone participation in the public service of Ontario; socio-economic characteristics; language policy, language capacity, and language use.

Chevalier, M., THE DYNAMICS OF ADAPTATION IN THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE. A study of adaptations to bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service, based on observations made at departmental discussions.

Clark, S.D., THE POSITION OF THE FRENCH-SPEAKING POPULATION IN THE NORTHERN INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY. An account, in essay form, of the economically disadvantaged position of the French Canadian population in certain northern industrial communities of Quebec and Ontario.

***Coulombe, P., Courcelles, L.,** PARTICIPATION À LA VIE MILITAIRE DANS UNE PERSPECTIVE BICULTURELLE. A study of Canada's military organization and an attitude survey of members of the Armed Forces; comparisons between Francophone and Anglophone participation in military life.

Dofny, J., LES INGÉNIEURS CANADIENS-ANGLAIS ET CANADIENS-FRANÇAIS À MONTRÉAL. A study based on interviews with 277 French Canadian and 339 English Canadian engineers in Montreal: their careers and their attitudes towards social class, economic development, industrial organization, and ethnic relations.

Donelly, M. S., ETHNIC PARTICIPATION IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT—WINNIPEG, ST. BONIFACE, AND THE METROPOLITAN CORPORATION OF GREATER WINNIPEG. A study of the history of municipal government in St. Boniface; ethnic participation in the St. Boniface and Winnipeg councils and administration; language use and voting patterns.

École des hautes études commerciales and The Graduate School of Business of McGill University, CORPORATE POLICIES AND PRACTICES WITH RESPECT TO BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM. Background material on the participation of Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec industry. Surveys of large and small manufacturing firms, aimed at describing their salaried personnel in terms of income levels, language capacity and language use, and location within the firms. Data on language use in relations with buyers, suppliers, and government. The samples included firms controlled by English Canadians, French Canadians, and both French- and English-language foreign interests.

Franks, C. E. S., BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE FEDERAL TREASURY BOARD. The participation of Francophones and Anglophones in the Treasury Board; language use and language capacity.

Gallant, B., ENGLISH AND FRENCH CANADIANS IN THE ARMED FORCES: AN HISTORICAL STUDY. A history of French- and English-speaking participation in the Armed Forces; language policies and practices.

Group Resources Consultant Service, MAILLARDVILLE FRENCH CANADIANS. A study of the French Canadian community in Maillardville, B.C.: a history of the community and a description of its educational and municipal institutions.

Higgins, B., A REGIONAL PLANNING APPROACH TO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF BICULTURALISM. The impact of regional economic development policies on French Canadians as a result of their concentration in certain areas.

Hughes, E. C., CAREER PATTERNS OF YOUNG MONTREALERS IN CERTAIN WHITE-COLLAR OCCUPATIONS. Exploratory interviews on the work histories of young people in certain occupations which are undergoing rapid change.

✓ **Institut de psychologie de l'Université de Montréal and The Graduate School of Business of McGill University**, A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL LEADERSHIP. A questionnaire study of the attitudes of French-speaking and English-speaking managers concerning the goals of industry, role conflict, management technique, and job satisfaction. Comparisons between approximately 1,500 French Canadian and 1,600 English Canadian managers in large corporations. A supplementary study of small businesses and school of commerce students was conducted along similar lines.

***Johnstone, J., Klein, W., Ledoux, D.**, PUBLIC SERVICE SURVEY. A study of the Public Service and Crown agencies: ethnic participation by location, department, status, and function; socio-economic characteristics of each group; language capacity and use.

Kelly, L., LANGUAGE TRAINING IN THE ARMED FORCES. A description of the teaching of English to recruits and of French to officers and non-commissioned officers: the situation as it existed in early 1966 when English was taught at five bases.

Lalande, G., LE MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES ET LA DUALITÉ DE CULTURE AU CANADA. French- and English-speaking Canadians in the Department of External Affairs: historical background, organization, recruiting, careers, and language use. Special emphasis is placed on Foreign Service Officers.

***Lapointe, G.**, LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE QUÉBÉCOISE. A study of bilingualism and biculturalism in the Quebec provincial administration: Anglophone and Francophone participation, language use, internal and external translation, staffing, and administrative style.

LaRivière, J., LA TRADUCTION DANS LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE. The process of translation, the Bureau of Translation as an administrative body; comparisons with other countries.

Ledoux, D., PROFIL ETHNOLINGUISTIQUE DES FORCES ARMÉES CANADIENNES. A comparison based on the 1961 census of French- and English-

speaking Canadians serving in the three branches of the Armed Forces with respect to their sex, marital status, religion, place of birth, education, rank, length of service, duty, and location of posting.

Ledoux, D., Klein, W., CENSUS ANALYSIS OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF CANADA. A study of 220,000 people who stated in the 1961 census that they were employed by the federal government (members of the Armed Forces and Crown corporation employees excluded). Ethnic and language features are studied in relation to sex, occupation, income, and place of residence.

Melançon, A., MIGRATIONS NETTES INTÉRIEURES ET INTERNATIONALES. Estimates of net migrations between 1951 and 1961, in terms of three ethnic origins and three levels of schooling, for the whole of Canada, for five regions, and for 24 age-sex groupings.

Pitsiladis, P., BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL REVENUE (TAXATION DIVISION). Ethnic differentiation in career development; language practices, attitudes, and aspirations.

Porter, J., Pineo, P.C., FRENCH-ENGLISH DIFFERENCES IN THE EVALUATION OF OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES, ETHNICITIES, AND RELIGIONS IN THE MONTREAL METROPOLITAN AREA. A survey of a random sample of Canadians designed mainly to discover how they rate present-day occupations.

Raynauld, A., LA PROPRIÉTÉ DES ENTREPRISES DU QUÉBEC. An attempt to classify all industries and business concerns in Quebec with regard to their ownership—French Canadian, English Canadian, or foreign. A comparison of these three types of business enterprise with regard to their importance, productivity, export trade, and various other features of the industrial sector.

Raynauld, A., Marion, G., Béland, R., LA RÉPARTITION DES REVENUS SELON LES GROUPES ETHNIQUES AU CANADA. The distribution of income in Canada among ethnic groups and an examination of the main factors which may explain this distribution: age, sex, industry, occupation, level of education, unemployment, and capital.

Rioux, M., *ATTITUDES DES JEUNES DU QUÉBEC ÂGÉS DE 18 À 21 ANS.* A study, by interview and survey, of a sample of young French Canadians, to explore the gap between generations.

Stanford, L., et al., *RECRUITING IN THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE.* A study of all aspects of recruiting in the federal Public Service; a statistical analysis of French-English inflow; perceptions of the recruiting programme by university staff and students; federal induction programmes; the distribution of bilingual posts.

Thibault, A., *L'ÉLITE UNIVERSITAIRE CANADIENNE-FRANÇAISE ET LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE FÉDÉRALE.* A supplement to the main study on recruiting in the Public Service based on interviews with groups of students (Francophones and Anglophones), their families, and university faculty members.

Thorburn, H. G., *ETHNIC PARTICIPATION AND LANGUAGE USE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.* A study of bilingualism and biculturalism in the government of New Brunswick including the structure of the service, participation, language use, translation, language training, and cultural relations.

Thorburn, H. G., *THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE FRENCH-SPEAKING POPULATION OF NEW BRUNSWICK.* Participation of Acadians in federal and provincial politics, including an analysis of voting patterns and political attitudes.

C. Education

Baird, N. B., *FINANCES OF BILINGUAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN ONTARIO.* An analysis of revenues and expenditures of bilingual elementary schools in Ontario based on statistics for 1963 provided by the Department of Education.

Balthazar, L., Despland, M., *RELATIONS ENTRE CULTURE ET RELIGION AU NIVEAU DE L'ÉDUCATION DANS TROIS RÉGIONS DU CANADA.* A study based on interviews with church functionaries.

Group Resources Consultant Service, *STUDY OF ATTITUDES OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS IN WESTERN CANADA AND NEW BRUNSWICK TOWARDS EDU-*

CATION. A study of attitudes towards the role of the school in career preparation and preserving cultural values. Twelve schools in western Canada and four schools in New Brunswick were selected in which the students were predominantly French Canadian, Ukrainian, German, or English Canadian by ethnic origin. Questionnaires were administered to 1,620 pupils in Grades VIII or IX and to their parents.

Harris, R. S., *THE EDUCATION SYSTEM OF ONTARIO.* An essay describing the development of education in Ontario since 1867. It includes a description of administrative structures of relevant provincial departments.

Hurtubise, R., *LE SYSTÈME SCOLAIRE DE LA PROVINCE DE QUÉBEC.* A study of Quebec educational laws relating to language and confessional rights of parents and to the structure of the system as it affects language and religion.

Isabelle, L., *LA CONNAISSANCE DU FRANÇAIS DANS UN MILIEU ÉTUDIANT.* Analysis of tests of French comprehension given to French-speaking students in French-language high schools from Alberta to New Brunswick.

Kelly, L. G., *TEACHING THE OTHER LANGUAGE BY TELEVISION AND RADIO.* A description of the state of language teaching by radio and television during 1964-65; the strengths and weaknesses of French and English school broadcasts.

LaPierre, L., *FEDERAL INTERVENTION UNDER SECTION 93 OF THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT.* An historical study of the occasions when federal intervention was considered to restore educational rights or privileges of a religious minority. There are separate chapters on educational controversies in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, and Ontario. The research is based on secondary and original sources.

Mackey, W. F., *MECHANOLINGUISTIC METHOD ANALYSIS.* A computer analysis of two modern French courses to see how valid the linguistic context is, how it is arranged for teaching, and what methods are used.

Monroe, D., Rocher, G., *ÉVOLUTION DE L'ÉDUCATION AU QUÉBEC.* An essay on the development of

the educational system in Quebec and the reforms proposed by the Royal Commission on Education (Parent Commission).

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, LANGUAGE AND SECONDARY SCHOOL SUCCESS. On the basis of data provided by a Carnegie Study of Grade IX students in Ontario in 1959, students from French-speaking homes are compared with those from English-speaking homes and from homes where neither French nor English is the chief language. Academic and socio-economic factors and attitudes are all relevant to the low retention rates of French-speaking students at the secondary level.

Orlikow, L., REPORT ON SECOND-LANGUAGE TEACHING IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES AND IN ONTARIO.

Orlikow, L., REPORT ON THE TEACHING OF THE SECOND LANGUAGE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES. Studies of French-language programmes, teacher supply, special projects, and future plans, based on interviews with departmental officials, inspectors, and teachers in each province.

Painchaud, L., DESCRIPTION DU BILINGUISME ET DU BICULTURALISME DE TROIS UNIVERSITÉS. A study on the use of French and English in courses and in administration at the University of Ottawa, Laurentian University, and the Royal Military College at St. Jean; based on university publications and on interviews.

Rawlyk, G. A., ACADIAN EDUCATION IN NOVA SCOTIA. An historical study of public and private educational institutions and policies for the Acadian minority in Nova Scotia; based on secondary and original sources and interviews.

Sirkis, R., HOW WELL DO FRENCH CANADIAN STUDENTS KNOW ENGLISH? An analysis of tests of oral and written English given to French Canadian students in Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick.

Sirkis, R., THE STATUS OF FRENCH AS A HIGH SCHOOL SUBJECT IN SEVEN CANADIAN PROVINCES. An analysis of statistical data on French teachers in all provinces except Ontario, Quebec, and Saskatchewan, giving qualifications, training, experience, and subjects they teach; comparisons with teachers of other subjects.

Soucie, R. E., ÉVOLUTION SCOLAIRE DANS TROIS COMMUNAUTÉS ACADIENNES DE LA PROVINCE DU NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK. The development of educational facilities for Acadian students; existing facilities, administrative structures, and language use in elementary, secondary, and private schools.

Torrens, R. W., AIMS AND METHODS OF INSTRUCTION IN LANGUAGE DEPARTMENTS OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES.

Torrens, R. W., TEACHER-TRAINING INSTITUTIONS IN CANADA. Two studies based on questionnaires to all universities and to teacher-training institutions in English-language provinces, and on interviews at selected institutions. The reports analyze the place of the official second language and culture in admission, programmes, and graduation requirements.

Trudel, M., Jain, G., ÉTUDE DE LA CONCEPTION DE L'HISTOIRE CANADIENNE. A study based on 14 widely used Canadian history textbooks, covering primary and secondary levels; a comparison of historical interpretations of individual careers and of selected themes and events.

Valiquet, L.-P., FRENCH-LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AT UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE. Analysis of results of oral and written French tests administered to freshmen at most English Canadian universities.

Whalen, R., THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT AND SECOND-LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION: AN AMERICAN MODEL FOR CANADA. A report on ten years of experience in promoting second-language instruction in the United States under the National Defense Education Act.

Wilson, T., A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF QUEBEC. An historical essay on the development of a distinctive curriculum for English Roman Catholic schools in the province of Quebec.

Wilson, T., Hurley, J., LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH IN THE FIVE WESTERN PROVINCES. An essay on the history of French-language minority schools and the history of French-language teaching in the public schools in the provinces of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia; the status of other languages.

D. Other Cultural Groups

a) Studies

Boissevain, J., THE ITALIANS OF MONTREAL: IMMIGRANT ADJUSTMENT IN A PLURAL SOCIETY. An anthropological account of the social and economic life of the Italians in Montreal and of their relations to other populations.

Hobart, C. W., ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS IN EDMONTON: ADJUSTMENT AND INTEGRATION. An anthropological study, using questionnaires, of the Italian population of Edmonton, with selected comparisons with the city's Ukrainian population.

Krukowski, T., et al., STUDIES ON THE OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS. Brief studies carried out by members of the research staff. Among the topics treated were the ethnic schools, broadcasting in languages other than French and English, and demographic and statistical analysis of the other ethnic groups.

Romalis, C., THE ATTITUDES OF THE MONTREAL JEWISH COMMUNITY TOWARD FRENCH CANADIAN NATIONALISM AND SEPARATISM. An attempt to account for variations in attitude in terms of socio-economic status, community identification, previous exposure to anti-semitism, etc. A sample of 126 persons living in high- and low-income residential areas was interviewed.

***Sherwood, D., Wakefield, A.,** VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS. The membership, organization, and activities of Canada's German, Ukrainian, and Dutch ethnic associations; their relationships to their own ethnic community and to the community at large.

b) Essays

Choulguine, R., LA CONTRIBUTION CULTURELLE DES UKRAINIENS AU CANADA.

Debor, H. W., THE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE GERMAN ETHNIC GROUP TO CANADA.

Diening, J. A., CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE DUTCH TO THE CULTURAL ENRICHMENT OF CANADA.

Foon Sien, THE CHINESE IN CANADA.

Kellner, P., HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION IN CANADIAN CULTURE.

Kos - Rabcewicz - Zubkowski, L., CONTRIBUTION MADE BY THE POLISH ETHNIC GROUP TO THE CULTURAL ENRICHMENT OF CANADA.

Lindal, W. J., THE CONTRIBUTION MADE BY THE SCANDINAVIAN ETHNIC GROUPS TO THE CULTURAL ENRICHMENT OF CANADA.

Potter, H. H., Hill, D. G., NEGRO SETTLEMENT IN CANADA, 1628-1965: A SURVEY.

Romer, T., PLACE ET RÔLE DE LA CIVILISATION POLONAISE DANS LA VIE CANADIENNE.

Wisse, R. R., JEWISH PARTICIPATION IN CANADIAN CULTURE.

Woycenko, O., UKRAINIAN CONTRIBUTION TO CANADA'S CULTURAL LIFE.

Assessments of the contributions of certain ethnic groups to Canadian life. Most treat the history of the immigration of a particular group to Canada, its organizations and institutions here, its cultural contributions, and its social and cultural aspirations.

E. Arts and Letters

Gnarowski, M., A STUDY ON THE EXTENT AND CONDITION OF CANADIAN LITERARY TRANSLATION. The extent of translation of Canadian work of a literary/academic nature from French into English and vice versa. The study also comprises a bibliography of titles of translated work and an index of authors and translators.

Houle, R., LE THÉÂTRE AU CANADA. A study of French- and English-language theatre in Canada. Particular attention is paid to professional and amateur theatre, the training of actors and actresses, and the creation of theatrical works.

Lelay, R., BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE. A brief study of internal organization, participation, and language use in the National Library.

Yedid, J., CONSEIL DES ARTS. A study of the structure, administration, aims, and policies of the Canada Council.

Yedid, J., GALERIE NATIONALE.

Yedid, J., MUSÉE NATIONAL. Two studies of policies, internal organization, distribution of personnel, and language use.

F. The Mass Media

a) Studies

Black, H., FRENCH AND ENGLISH CANADIAN POLITICAL JOURNALISTS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY. Procedures used in gathering news at the national press gallery; journalists' perceptions of their role and of their responsibility towards the public, especially in the field of inter-cultural relations.

Bruce, J., A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THIRTY CANADIAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS. An examination of the variety, the quantity, and the source of news in each province, with particular attention to what is printed about each province in English and French newspapers; based on the period January 1 to March 31, 1965, and a comparative study of newspapers published in 1960 and 1955.

Chartrand-McKenzie, F., LES JOURNALISTES ANGLAIS ET FRANCO-CANADIENS: LEURS OPINIONS ET LEURS COMPORTEMENTS VIS-À-VIS DE LA COEXISTENCE DES DEUX CULTURES AU PAYS. A companion study to that of H. Black. Participation by journalists of each language group in the culture of the other; opinions on current language questions and constitutional problems.

De Guise, J., CONTRÔLE DES MOYENS DE COMMUNICATION ET ÉQUIPEMENT DISPONIBLE DANS LES MASS MEDIA AU CANADA. An analysis of the control of information media and the means available to both language groups to control them.

Gagné, S. D., SONDAGE SUR LA PRESSE CANADIENNE. An examination of the opinions of the management of French- and English-language newspapers, radio and television stations on the services they receive from the Canadian Press.

Gordon, D. R., NATIONAL NEWS IN CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS. An analysis of the content of Canadian news taken from a sample of French- and English-language newspapers from January to May, 1965; categories analyzed include federal government and politics, provincial politics, biculturalism, economic and business matters, religion, and education.

Mousseau, M., ÉCOUTE DE LA TÉLÉVISION CANADIENNE ET LANGUES PARLÉES. A study, based on a sample of households and individuals, of the amount of time spent watching CBFT and CBMT by adults and young people. The data were gathered through the use of a listening-time record in the metropolitan area of Montreal in 1960.

Mousseau, M., TAUX DE LECTURE DES JOURNAUX. A study of the amount of time young people and adults spent reading daily and weekly newspapers. The data were gathered by personal interviews held in the metropolitan area of Montreal in 1960.

Mousseau, M., Dumont, C., STATIONS DE TÉLÉVISION PRÉFÉRÉES ET LANGUES PARLÉES. A study of the Canadian or American television stations young people and adults preferred watching. Sample groups were formed according to the language of households and individuals. The data were gathered by interviews in the metropolitan area of Montreal in 1962.

Mousseau, M., Ross, L., ANALYSE DU CONTENU DES NOUVELLES NATIONALES À LA TÉLÉVISION. A study of the images of French and English Canadians projected by the national news bulletins of the French network of the CBC, of CFTM, of the English-language networks of the CBC and CTV. This image is made up of the activities, the personalities, and the location of the events described on the news, during the period between April 1964 and March 1965.

Qualter, T. H., A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TREATMENT, IN SELECTED CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS, OF MATERIAL RELEVANT TO THE BROAD ISSUES OF BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM. A study attempting to show the importance certain French- and English-language newspapers gave to various news items dealing with bilingualism and biculturalism between June 1963 and December 1964.

b) Essay

Compton, N., BICULTURALISM AND THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE MEDIA. Essay on the role and responsibility of the English-language media in the relations between Canada's two main cultural groups.

G. The Federal Capital

McRae, K. D., et al., THE FEDERAL CAPITAL. A group of studies on the position of the two official languages and language groups in the federal capital. Special attention was paid to the role of the federal, provincial, and municipal governments in the area and also to the judicial and educational systems. Chapters are also devoted to the mass media, cultural resources, and some aspects of the economic sector.

H. Governmental Institutions

Bonenfant, J.-C., LE SÉNAT DANS LE FÉDÉRALISME CANADIEN. An analysis of French-speaking Canadians' attitudes to the Canadian Senate with respect to its role in the protection of bilingualism and minority and provincial rights from 1867 to the present; a review of various proposals for Senate reform.

Gibson, F. W., et al., CABINET FORMATION AND BICULTURAL RELATIONS: SEVEN CASE STUDIES. An examination, within a common framework, of the formation of the Canadian cabinets of 1867, 1878, 1896, 1911, 1921, 1935, and 1948; the importance of cultural factors in the selection of ministers and the distribution of portfolios.

Hoffman, D., Ward, N., BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. A study of the history and the present state of bilingualism in the House of Commons, and of the respective perceptions of English- and French-speaking MPs of Parliament and of their parliamentary roles. Among the topics covered are communications among MPs, their attitudes toward one another, their life in Ottawa, and the specific roles of each language group.

Russell, P., BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE SUPREME COURT OF CANADA. Following an historical review of bicultural and federal issues affecting the Supreme Court from its founding to the present, the study reviews the composition and procedures of the Court from the point of view of language and culture. It concludes with a quantitative analysis of voting patterns in the

Supreme Court, which attempts to determine whether bloc voting, following language divisions, has characterized the decisions of the Supreme Court.

Van Loon, R., THE STRUCTURE AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE CANADIAN CABINET. An analysis by party, period, and mother tongue of the educational, occupational, political, and regional background of cabinet ministers. The study also examines how the various portfolios were distributed between English- and French-speaking ministers.

I. Voluntary Associations

Bergeron, G., LES PARTIS LIBÉRAUX DU CANADA ET DU QUÉBEC, 1955-1965. A detailed, chronologically organized account of the fortunes of the Liberal party in Quebec, based largely on official documents, newspaper reports, and interviews. A concluding chapter attempts to explain, in relation to some theories about parties, why the relations between the Quebec and Canadian Liberal parties have undergone several radical changes in the period under review.

La Terreur, M., LE PARTI CONSERVATEUR ET LE QUÉBEC, 1930-1965. An historical essay on the Conservative party with special emphasis on the relations between its Quebec wing and the rest of the party.

Leslie, P. M., THE ROLE OF CONSTITUENCY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN REPRESENTING THE INTERESTS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES AND OTHER GROUPS: POLITICAL PARTIES AND CANADIAN UNITY. An analysis of the relative effectiveness of political parties in contributing to Canadian unity. Three constituencies, two in Quebec and one in New Brunswick, are examined. A special chapter is devoted to the role of parties in promoting the interests of ethnic minorities.

***Meisel, J., Lemieux, V.,** ETHNIC RELATIONS IN CANADIAN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS. This study identifies and analyzes relations between Anglophone and Francophone members of selected voluntary associations with a mixed membership, and between predominantly Francophone and predominantly Anglophone associations.

Sherwood, D., THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND FRENCH CANADA, 1961-1965. An examination of attempts within the New Democratic Party to create and maintain a pan-Canadian party structure. The study identifies and assesses the forces making for a split within the party.

Stein, M., THE SPLIT BETWEEN THE RALLIEMENT DES CRÉDITISTES AND THE NATIONAL SOCIAL CREDIT PARTY: AN ATTITUDINAL EXPLANATION. An exploration of the differences in attitudes between the two Social Credit "parties" which led to the split between them. The study was based on interviews with the leaders most directly involved and on the relevant literature.

J. Other Studies

1. Constitutional Problems

a) Studies

Bonenfant, J.-C., LES CANADIENS FRANÇAIS ET LA NAISSANCE DE LA CONFÉDÉRATION. Beginning with a review of pre-Confederation discussions of a federal union, this study uses newspaper and other documentary sources to describe French Canadian attitudes to Confederation. It concludes with post-Confederation reactions to the new régime and an evaluation of factors which most influenced French Canadians to take a stand for or against Confederation.

Cook, R., PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY, MINORITY RIGHTS, AND THE COMPACT THEORY. This study traces the origins and development of the concepts of provincial autonomy and the different versions of the compact theory of Confederation. It concludes that the notion of a compact between cultures is comparatively recent, and that its advent coincides with the rise to prominence of school and language questions.

Dehem, R., PLANIFICATION ÉCONOMIQUE ET FÉDÉRALISME. This study reviews planning concepts and planning experiences in France, the U.K., the Low Countries, Sweden, Norway, Western Germany, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia; compares planning problems in unitary and federal states; and looks at Canadian planning problems in the light of the foregoing material.

Smiley, D. V., PUBLIC POLICY AND CANADIAN FEDERALISM. A review of developments in Canadian federalism since World War II, with special emphasis on Quebec-Ottawa relations. After analyzing the "devices of adjustment" which have evolved in the Canadian federal system, the study focusses on relations between executive officials of federal and provincial governments. It concludes with a description and evaluation of co-operative federalism.

b) Essays

Brière, M., ÉTUDE SUR LA CONSTITUTION CANADIENNE. An attempt to define a new federalism through a new distribution of legislative, executive, and judicial powers; the institutions needed for this bi-national state.

Le Dain, G., ESSAY ON THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION. An essay focussing attention on the problems of dividing jurisdiction between the federal and provincial governments, and especially the province of Quebec. It examines in particular language and education rights, the desirability of an entrenched Bill of Rights, the Criminal Law Power, the control of natural resources, the regulation of the corporation and financial powers.

Morin, J.-Y., LE FÉDÉRALISME CANADIEN ET LE PRINCIPE DE L'ÉGALITÉ DES DEUX NATIONS. After demonstrating that the concept of equal partnership between Canada's two peoples has gradually changed to a concept of equal partnership between two nations, the essay concludes that this new definition of our political existence must be accompanied by institutional reform.

2. Linguistic questions

Darbelnet, J., LE BILINGUISME ET LES ANGLICISMES. A study classifying the Anglicisms common in Canadian French. It shows why English has penetrated so deeply into French, and suggests remedies.

Nilski, T., CONFERENCE INTERPRETATION IN CANADA. A bird's-eye view of the present and possible uses of interpretation in Canada. This essay describes certain features of conference interpretation in Canada—the high cost, the present shortage of qualified interpreters, and the

difficulties of providing an adequate supply of qualified people. Comparisons are also made with solutions worked out elsewhere in response to similar problems.

3. Attitude Surveys

Frankel, S. F., POLITICAL ORIENTATION AND ETHNICITY IN A BICULTURAL SOCIETY. A re-analysis of various opinion polls (CBC, Gallup), showing differences in the attitudes of French- and English-speaking Canadians on domestic political institutions and symbols, on foreign policy questions, and on English-French relations.

Johnstone, J., YOUNG PEOPLE'S IMAGES OF CANADIAN SOCIETY. An opinion survey of young people between the ages of 12 and 20, using the same sample as the Social Research Group survey (see below). The study examines the way Canadian society is defined, perceptions of relations between cultural groups, attitudes towards bilingualism, and expectations for the future.

Regenstreif, P., ELITE OPINION ON BICULTURALISM AND BICULTURALISM. An opinion survey of 100 persons deemed to be members of the political, bureaucratic, corporate, and communications élites of Canada.

Social Research Group, A STUDY OF INTERETHNIC RELATIONS IN CANADA. A questionnaire study of the opinions and attitudes of a national sample of Canadians. The survey explores ethnic relations; attitudes towards language use in the Public Service, business, and education; views on the roles of federal and provincial governments, and perceptions of Canada.

4. Foreign Comparisons

Brazeau, J., ESSAI SUR LA QUESTION LINGUISTIQUE EN BELGIQUE. An outline history of Belgium, followed by a more detailed survey of the country's language legislation. Further chapters are devoted to language use in the public service, the trade union movement, pressure groups interested in the language question, and regional studies and planning.

Centre de recherche et d'information socio-politiques, LE BILINGUISME ET LE BICULTURALISME EN

BELGIQUE. Beginning with a chapter on the history of language legislation in Belgium, the report proceeds to examine in detail the language provisions relative to the civil service, education, the judicial system, and the armed forces. The supervisory agents set up to implement the laws are also considered.

Cloete, J. J. N., BILINGUALISM IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN SOUTH AFRICA. After a brief history of the European languages in South Africa, the study pays particular attention to the development of language regulations relating to the public service, both civil and military, and at the national and local levels. Also included are the results of the author's inquiry into linguistic practices within government departments, along with a description of language testing arrangements.

Heard, K., BILINGUALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA. An examination of South African language practices in the following fields: the armed forces, constitution, government institutions, cultural affairs, mass media, voluntary associations, and political behaviour. Preceding the main body of the report is a long historical and statistical section.

McConkey, W. G., THE BILINGUAL AND BICULTURAL STRUCTURE OF THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. A history of English and Afrikaans in South African schools: the present-day situation in relation to language of instruction, second-language teaching, teacher training and teacher organizations. The impact of the white bicultural society on the non-white schools is also considered.

Meynaud, J., LE PROBLÈME DES LANGUES DANS L'ADMINISTRATION FÉDÉRALE HELVÉTIQUE. A report on the linguistic ability of Swiss federal civil servants and the representation accorded each language group in the ranks of the administration; language practices, including the use made of translation; problem areas, such as educational facilities in French in Bern.

Meynaud, J., LE PROBLÈME DES LANGUES DANS L'ÉCONOMIE HELVÉTIQUE. An examination of language use in banks, co-operatives, and professional organizations in the multilingual society of Switzerland.

Miljan, T., BILINGUALISM IN FINLAND. Language practices in the following fields: the public service, education, the constitution, government institutions, Helsinki, cultural affairs, mass media, voluntary associations, and political behaviour. A long historical and statistical section precedes the main body of the report.

Sadie, J. L., THE AFRIKANER IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY. A report on the role of the English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in the development of the economy; measures taken by the Afrikaners to gain entry into the economic field and their success to date.

Watts, R. L., MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETIES AND FEDERALISM. A study of the political structure and operations of the federations of India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Switzerland, Rhodesia and Nyasaland (formerly), and the West Indies (formerly), with special reference to problems of language and culture and their solution.

Welsh, P., PLURILINGUALISM IN SWITZERLAND. Language practices in the following fields: the armed forces, education, federal, and cantonal constitutions and institutions, Bern, cultural affairs, mass media, voluntary associations, and political behaviour. A chapter on regional economic development is also included. Preceding the main body of the report is a long historical and statistical section.

5. Immigration

Lajoie-Robichaud, A., POLITIQUES ET ATTITUDES À L'ÉGARD DE L'IMMIGRATION DEPUIS LA CONFÉDÉRATION AU QUÉBEC. Early attempts to secure and to aid agricultural immigrants in the province of Quebec: later inactivity regarding immigration; the establishment in 1965 of a provincial immigration agency; obstacles confronting immigrants and attitudes towards them.

Walmsley, N. E., SOME ASPECTS OF CANADA'S IMMIGRATION POLICY. The historical background of Canadian immigration, federal and provincial legislation and policies, and external and internal factors influencing immigration. The study tries to discover why most immigrants have either been English-speaking or have associated themselves with the English-speaking groups; it finds

no evidence that this has been due to discrimination. There has, however, been discrimination against Asians and Negroes.

6. Other

a) Studies

Baudry, R., LES ACADIENS D'AUJOURD'HUI. A brief historical résumé of the Acadians' situation before Confederation. The development of Acadian society over the last hundred years is examined in such fields as economic, social, religious, cultural, and political life.

Carisse, C., ORIENTATION CULTURELLE DES CONJOINTS DANS LES MARIAGES BIETHNIQUES. A sample survey of spouses in mixed marriages; the cultural patterns of spouses and of their children.

Sabourin, L., L'IMPORTANCE ET LE RÔLE DU BICULTURALISME DANS LES ACTIVITÉS INTERNATIONALES DU CANADA. A review of the role played by biculturalism in Canadian foreign policy; suggested ways of recognizing Canadian dualism more adequately.

Vachon, G.-A., Barker, C., Lévesque, A., LES IDÉES POLITIQUES DES CANADIENS FRANÇAIS. A summary and analysis of attitudes towards Canada's constitution of some leading Quebec movements, literary and political reviews and organizations. The ideas examined range from the *status quo* to separatism. Special emphasis is given to four nationalist movements, notably the *Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale* (R.I.N.).

Vallée, F. F., INDIANS AND ESKIMOS OF CANADA: AN OVERVIEW OF STUDIES OF RELEVANCE TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM. A review of studies dealing with population trends, economic and educational patterns, maintenance of languages, and other distinctive cultural traits, among Indians and Eskimos. There is an annotated bibliography.

b) Essays

Brunet, M., SOCIÉTÉ, POUVOIR POLITIQUE, NATION ET ÉTAT: LE CAS DE LA COLLECTIVITÉ CANADIENNE-FRANÇAISE OU QUÉBÉCOISE. An essay proposing a new balance of forces both in Quebec and in Canada.

Kattan, N., INTÉGRATION DES IMMIGRANTS FRANCO-PHONES À LA VIE CANADIENNE. An essay on the integration of the immigrant who wants to live in the French-language milieu of Montreal. It discusses residential patterns in the city, educational choices, the work world, social life, and official policy towards the immigrant.

McNaught, K., THE IMPACT OF REGIONAL AND ETHNIC DIFFERENCES UPON THE CULTURE OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADIANS. English Canadian culture: definition; the diversity of this culture as a result of the division of the country into five regions, of different history and of different goals; the nationalism of this culture, strongly

tinged with pragmatism and not totally lacking a conciliatory spirit.

Morton, W., THE EQUAL PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO FOUNDING RACES. An essay illustrating the presence of a French Canadian and an English Canadian culture in Canada. It concludes that a French Canadian culture is quite evident while an English Canadian culture is much less noticeable. "Biculturalism" can only mean cultural duality in the current Canadian context.

Peter, J. D., BICULTURALISM. A comparison of the situation of the British and Afrikaners in South Africa with that of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians.

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